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Ministers Release Statement on Defense of Tajik Border

LD3108205993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2027 GMT 31 Aug 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations September 1 TASS—A joint statement of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Russian, Tajik and Uzbek foreign ministers addressed to the UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has been circulated here as a document of the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

The statement informs that the five countries are about to form allied defence forces to normalize situation at the Tajik-Afghan border.

"A joint meeting of foreign and defence ministers of the Commonwealth's member states considered measures to be taken to normalize situation at the Tajik-Afghan border at its session in Moscow on August 24. The participants coordinated and initialed an agreement on allied defence forces to be formed at the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan and on joint measures to provide them with material and technical support and also a statute for a joint commandment of the allied defence forces. These documents will be subject for approval at the Commonwealth's summit in Moscow on September 7, 1993," the statement reads.

The additional measures taken by the five countries "should help stabilize situation in Tajikistan." They "follow in the wake of the relevant decisions on the issue made by the UN Security Council," the authors of the statement note.

"We consider the agreement on allied defence forces as a regional agreement to be signed in accordance with the aims and principles described in chapter 8 of the United Nations Charter," they emphasize.

The foreign ministers of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan expressed hope that forming the allied defence forces would be "supported by the United Nations as a contribution made by our countries toward keeping peace and security in this important region."

Antinuclear Congress Meets in Almaty

MK0109103093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 3

[Sergey Kozlov report: "Antinuclear Alliance Demands Closure of Chinese Test Site. President Nazarbayev Thinks Construction of Nuclear Power Stations Possible in Kazakhstan"]

[Excerpt] The Global Antinuclear Alliance congress, whose opening was disrupted late this past May over a scandal surrounding the "Nevada-Semi" international antinuclear movement, went ahead in Almaty on 30 August. Seventy delegations representing various antinuclear and pacifist organizations took part in this event organized by the Kazakhstani movement. The Global Antinuclear Alliance, formed under the auspices of "Nevada," is a unique international union of pacifists that periodically comes forward with statements or actions. Taking part in the proceedings of this congress are, for example, such organizations as "World Physicians Against Nuclear War," Greenpeace, and the Socioeconomic Union of Russia.

The main objective of the congress, organized with great pomp and circumstance, is to coordinate the activities of like-minded people all over the world to bring pressure on the governments of their countries.

"The world has the right to expect from political leaders a general nuclear testing moratorium," stated Olzhas Suleymenov, leader of the "Nevada-Semi" movement during the opening of the congress. He also called upon members of the nuclear club to bring pressure on China to close down its Lob Nor test site 500 km from Kazakhstan's capital.

"Such pressure," Suleymenov stressed, "cannot be construed as interference in internal affairs because the possession of a mass destruction weapon cannot be the internal affair of any state."

Suleymenov defined as the goal of the antinuclear alliance an end to the operation of all nuclear test sites by 1995. In the process it is necessary to create under UN auspices an international fund to aid regions that suffered from nuclear testing, and its main founders should be countries of the nuclear club. "It is through their efforts that such a situation was created in the Cold War era," Suleymenov stressed.

It was also declared necessary to deny nuclear weaponry the status of a means of national defense and to place it under the jurisdiction of the CIS Security Council, which should be formed without delay. Later, as Olzhas Suleymenov noted, this council could be transferred to UN auspices.

Much as had been expected, the opening of the congress was attended by President Nazarbayev who came forward with global initiatives fitting the occasion.

At first, Nazarbayev proposed an extension of the nuclear testing moratorium and the creation within the framework of the World Health Organization of a single roster of test victims.

"The problem of compensation for test victims is especially acute in Kazakhstan," Nazarbayev pointed out, "and it is impossible to solve it without aid from the world community. The fact that Kazakhstan has been left alone to cope with the consequences of nuclear tests on its territory is unjust politically, psychologically—from all points of view."

The Kazakhstani president's speech, however, contained a judgment unusual for this sort of event.

"It is necessary to overcome the ignorance in a certain part of the population," Nazarbayev stated all of a sudden, "who do not realize the importance of the development of nuclear power engineering. In the future, construction of nuclear power stations is possible in Kazakhstan."

It should be noted that neighboring China has made repeated official protests against "Nevada-Semi" actions concerning the Lob Nor test site. It will not go without protests this time around, either. The movement's activists organized a peace march scheduled for the congress. It took them to the Chinese border where a noisy rally was organized demanding the closure of the Chinese test site. [passage omitted]

Adopts Memorandum

LD0109202993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] The congress of the global antinuclear alliance being held in the capital of Kazakhstan, Almaty, drew to a close on Wednesday. The participants adopted a memorandum calling for the earliest introduction of public and state control over the ecological safety of the planet. The congress called on those CIS countries having nuclear arms in their territory to set up a common security council and transfer all nuclear weapons to the council's jurisdiction. The congress backed up the appeal of President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan to the heads of nuclear powers to prolong the moratorium on nuclear testing until the year 2000.

NATO's Motives in Eastern Europe, Ukraine Assessed

PM2708135193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 93 p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev article: "Arrow of NATO Compass Moving Southeastwards"]

[Text] It has long been noticed that retired politicians and diplomats unceremoniously lift the veil of secrecy, which for the time being conceals the actions of states and their governments. They voice frank opinions on various problems and do not stint on their formulas saying how, in their view, these problems should be resolved.

Henry Kissinger is one of these people. In his statements—verbal and printed—he uses his experience and subtle knowledge of the stratagems of world politics to suggest to the West's current leaders what they should do and which line they should follow. And he is heeded attentively.

Thus Kissinger devoted one of his articles to analyzing the North Atlantic alliance's strategy and structure. Moreover, he approached this from a quite unusual direction: What will happen if Russia gets back on its feet after its current knockout?

The author thinks that a revived Russia would not accept the Western form of behavior and would revert to expansionism, directed above all against its neighbors on its western and southwestern borders. Together with reunited Germany, it "will cast a long shadow over Central and East Europe."

On this premise Kissinger concludes that the significance of the Atlantic alliance has not lessened now, but has on the contrary increased. "NATO," he asserts, "is an instrument designed to prevent a vacuum arising between the German and Russian borders. The former Soviet satellites in East Europe should be placed under NATO protection even if they are not formally part of it."

However, there is every indication that the bloc's headquarters has no particular need of the recommendations of a retired politician. It has for a long time now been taking definite steps in this direction although it has not been making a song and dance about its actions. What is more, Russia and a number of the other states that emerged after the collapse of the USSR, as well as the former Warsaw Pact countries, have been admitted to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which now comprises 37 states from Europe and North America. A body that was especially set up under NATO and which, according to the bloc leaders' plan, should be evidence that the former adversaries have become partners and that they are being integrated into the NATO security system.

Nevertheless, analysis of the policy being pursued by the Atlanticists gives grounds to assert that this integration is in actual fact far more akin to differentiation. A number of countries are being selectively involved in the North Atlantic bloc. Priority here is, moreover, being given to Russia's neighbors. Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia are being openly named, for instance, as the first candidates for membership of an enlarged NATO. And they themselves are not renouncing that honor. On the contrary, joining the North Atlantic alliance is regarded as their policy's strategic goal.

Of late the NATO leadership has been paying more and more attention to the Black Sea region. That is obviously not least because of its particular importance for Russia. Not so long ago the North Atlantic alliance included the whole Black Sea area in its area of responsibility. Ships of the bloc's combined naval forces and the U.S. Sixth Fleet are frequent visitors there. Ties with Romania and Bulgaria are growing stronger and stronger.

Romania is today one of the countries that has implemented the greatest number of joint projects with the Atlantic pact organization. This year there have been 90 such projects. This gave Field Marshall Richard Frederick Vincent, chairman of NATO's Military Committee, grounds to say: "Romania is one of our most important partners." For their part Romania's political and military leaders are doing their utmost to underline the country's desire to become a full-fledged member of the alliance.

However, the North Atlantic alliance is beginning to display particular activeness with regard to developing cooperation with Ukraine and bringing the latter into its orbit. Suffice it to say that it has of late been visited by many high-ranking NATO civilians and military men, U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, and FRG Defense Minister Volker Ruehe. In a special commentary devoted to Ruehe's visit to Ukraine, Hamburg's DIE WELT emphasized that the minister is in favor of the policy of the "North Atlantic alliance's openness to the East." This means, the newspaper writes, that "if the NATO Council agrees in principle to Poland, Hungary, the Czech

Republic, and Slovakia acceding to the bloc...the eastern borders of the alliance will come right up to the borders of Ukraine and Belarus." In Addition, Admiral Paul Miller, commander in chief of the bloc's combined armed forces, Atlantic, who recently visited Odessa, gave a military-style unequivocal, clear opinion of this at a press conference: "Ukraine must become a member of the North Atlantic alliance."

Ukraine attracts NATO for many reasons. It is one of Europe's largest and—potentially—richest countries. It has a large quantity of nuclear arms and delivery vehicles on its territory left behind after the breakup of the USSR. It has complex relations with Russia and the other countries that were previously part of the Soviet Union. Lastly, it is a Black Sea country with well-equipped ports, naval bases, and a developed shipbuilding industry. And if NATO's influence in the Black Sea basin is strengthened, that will give the bloc advantageous positions in the crisis region between the Caspian and the Adriatic—the region that includes the Balkans and the Caucasus.

NATO's emblem is a symbol of the compass. Its arrow has for several years now been increasingly moving southeastwards. Two years ago a number of bloc countries, under the flag of the UN multinational forces, took a direct part in the military operations against Iraq in the Persian Gulf within the framework of the Desert Shield and Desert Storm Operations. Now that the military danger in this region has virtually been reduced to zero, the NATO compass is pointing to another explosive region on the bloc's southeast flank, the center of which is the Black Sea.

By stepping up its penetration of the Black Sea basin, the North Atlantic alliance intends not only to secure itself against conflicts like those in the former Yugoslavia or the Caucasus. It is striving to fill the vacuum that formed here after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the breakup of the USSR, and to create in good time an outpost on Russia's southern borders—in case events in our country develop as Kissinger predicts.

UN Mission Monitors Russian Troop Withdrawal From Baltics

WS3108134793 Tallinn BNS in English 1326 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (BNS)—A U.N. mission to monitor the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states begins work today in Moscow.

The mission, led by special envoy Tommy Koh, met Monday morning with the heads of the Russian delegations for talks with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. A meeting with Russian Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov is scheduled for the afternoon.

Koh talks Tuesday with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Defense Committee, Sergei Stepashin. The mission begins a week's tour of the Baltic states Tuesday [1 September] night and, after spending another day in Moscow, flies back to New York on September 8.

The mission's leader reports on the Russian troop pullout from the Baltic states for U.N. General Assembly later that month.

Latvian, Lithuanian Ministers on Meeting in Sweden

LD0109124693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1100 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs returned to Riga from Sweden an hour ago. Yesterday he took part in a conference for foreign ministers of the Nordic and Baltic states in the administrative center of Gotland, Visby.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys flew to Riga with Georgs Andrejevs. At a news conference, the Latvian and Lithuanian foreign ministers expressed their satisfaction with the meeting in Visby and with the fact that the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Lithuania was completed yesterday.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin Continues U.S. Visit

Visits Space Center, Nuclear Plant

LD0109195893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By correspondent Sergey Goryachev from Washington; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Washington, the Russian premier was met by Vice President Gore. Gore and Chernomyrdin are co-chairmen of the commission which is to discuss the opportunities for joint actions in the spheres of trade, energy, conversion, and space. It seems that Russia and the United States have come close to organizing joint projects in the high-tech fields. It seems that space is the field that offers the greatest potential.

This is the very spacecraft—the shuttle Endeavor—in which our cosmonaut Sergey Krikalev will travel into space in January. At the Kennedy Space Center in Florida, Viktor Chernomyrdin was shown around the assembly area where the shuttles are being prepared for space flights. Meanwhile, it is the designers, and not politicians, who are planning another, even more ambitious project—the international orbital station. Yuriy Semenov, chief designer of the scientific industrial association Energiya, says that Russia will participate in this project as one of the leaders in world space research.

[Begin Semenov recording] This is going on very actively. I think that if this project is approved, we will start with the launching of our own station to which the American portions will subsequently be added. This will be a joint international space station. [end recording]

[Goryachev] It is cheaper to work together in space. We have also gained some common experience in space—Apollo-Soyuz.

However, we do not have such experience in the field of nuclear energy. We are in Florida at the nuclear power station called St. Lucy. It consists of two energy blocks and has the highest safety standards in America. This is how the emergency siren sounds when an accident happens at an American nuclear plant. Today it is just a safety drill. The actions of personnel are being monitored by computer. We still have very few such training systems. They cost $10 million each. However, in 5-10 years we may have Russian-American new-generation stations of this type which will be even more reliable and safe.

Such are the prospects, which will be discussed today and tomorrow at the Russian-U.S. talks in Washington.

Comments on Energy, Space Cooperation

LD0109193793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1804 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Washington September 1 TASS—Speaking at a meeting of the Russian-U.S. Intergovernmental Commission for Cooperation in Power Engineering and Space Exploration, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said it had become possible to use the large potential of U.S.-Russian cooperation in space and energy after the two countries gave up confrontation and began building true partnership.

The Russian premier suggested that the intergovernmental commission also coordinate all spheres of economic and technological cooperation on the basis of the existing bilateral institutions.

Chernomyrdin highly evaluated the role played by the United States in mobilizing international support for Russia's economic reforms, including at the Tokyo summit of the Group-of-Seven major industrialized nations. He said the Russian leadership will not allow to play down the significance of this role, since it understands quite well that the U.S. administration has a lot of its own "domestic" problems to solve as well.

The Russian prime minister believes one of the main lines of this support should be "promotion of Russia's integration into the world economy and ensuring fair access of Russian-made competitive goods to the American and world markets". With this in view, Chernomyrdin noted that Russia "is greatly concerned over the obstacles now hindering export of uranium products and certain raw materials to the United States, as well as by the recent EC resolution with respect of Russian aluminum. I believe artificial barriers for stepping up mutual trade and investments should be removed more actively", he said.

Chernomyrdin also moved a proposal to launch a dialogue on possible creation of a free-trade zone to comprise some regions of the United States and Russia's Far East.

Signs Space, Missile Agreements

LD0209092293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR- TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Washington, 2 Sep—The Russian prime minister regards the two intergovernmental documents—on international trade in the field of commercial space launch services and on mutual understanding on matters of the export of missile equipment and technology—signed today by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore to be "a normal agreement between two states and, moreover, Russia loses nothing."

Summing up the results of his working visit to the United States in an interview to the ITAR-TASS correspondents and the "Ostankino" television company, V. Chernomyrdin said that when assessing these documents, one needs to bear in mind that both for Russia and for the United States "it is important that we are not surrounded by nuclear states."

The first of the documents signed registers Russia's intention to join the international system for control over the export of missile technologies and equipment that could

help in the creation or acquisition of missile systems delivering weapons of mass destruction. The second document provides for Russia's entry on to the high-tech international market of commercial space launches.

V. Chernomyrdin reported that the Russian side's decision to sign these documents was taken after a thorough analysis of economic expediency from Russia's point of view. Furthermore, the prime minister stated, "by cooperating in the field of space, Russia and the United States can do a great deal and gain the best results with less being spent by each side individually."

For his part the U.S. vice-president said in the interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent that during talks the Russian prime minister had proposed "a very wide, rational approach to a whole spectrum of problems being discussed on how to establish business partnership." "With his help we managed to identify certain barriers existing in the United States, which hinder a fully-fledged bilateral trade. We intend to work vigorously to eliminate them," said A. Gore.

Having qualified the exchange of opinions as "extremely useful and honest," he noted that the U.S. delegation at the talks was very impressed by high space and power engineering technology existing in Russia. "We have established a whole range of possibilities for mutually beneficial cooperation in these two areas. Thanks to our dialogue, we had the chance to see in detail how mutually beneficial our partnership would be, and I am very optimistic about its future development," said the U.S. vice president.

Signs Memorandum on Uranium Trade

LD0209092993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0716 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Washington September 2 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, now on a working visit here, and U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore signed on Wednesday [1 September] a memorandum on transparency to the Russian-American agreement on the use of Uranium extracted from nuclear weapons.

The document was signed after the first day of work of the Russian-American Intergovernment Commission on Cooperation in Energy and Space Explorations.

However, Russian Minister of Atomic Energy Viktor Mikhaylov who signed the memorandum, said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS that an executive contract to this agreement was not concluded on the insistence from the American delegation.

According to the minister, the American side noted that it would sign such a document providing for the deliveries of Russian-processed arms Uranium to the world market under contracts of the U.S. Energy Department if Russia reaches understandings with Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan on sharing profits from its export.

Mikhaylov claimed that the American side "plays a political card" in the question of enriched Uranium.

Enriched Uranium obtained from dismantled nuclear weapons is processed by Russian factories into low-grade Uranium which can be used as fuel at nuclear power plants. "We could tackle many problems by concluding this contract, and not only in our industry," Mikhaylov continued.

"The contract provides for 12 billion U.S. dollars worth of Russian Uranium deliveries to the world market (half of which is now controlled by the United States) for nuclear power stations.

He added that Russia now controls only five per cent of the world Uranium fuel market. The contract provided for "an increase in our quota on the world market" and additional revenues.

The minister noted that Russia and the U.S. now have equal facilities for processing Uranium. However, in the minister's opinion, Russian technologies eclipse American ones in this sphere.

Mikhaylov concluded that "the United States will all the same agree to conclude this contract in future".

Discusses Trade With Businessmen

LD0109201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1908 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington September 1 TASS—"The success of democracy in Russia directly depends on its economic revival on a new market basis and turning the Russian economy into integral and prosperous part of the world economy," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said at a meeting with representatives of U.S. business circles on Wednesday [1 September].

He pointed out that the new Russian constitution and changes in the country's political system, especially in the institutes of federal powers, are called upon to guarantee favourable conditions for the rapid advance of economic reforms, the development of large-scale economic cooperation between the Russian Federation and foreign countries.

Chernomyrdin thoroughly informed American businessmen of the progress of reforms in Russia and pointed out that the primary tasks of the Russian government was to combat inflation, boost structural perestroyka and promote the establishment of institutes of market infrastructure.

Dwelling on cooperation with international financial institutions, Chernomyrdin said that "it's easier for us to work in Russia, feeling the support of international community in the solution of cardinal problems of democratic and market transformations."

Chernomyrdin pointed out that the first session of an intergovernment commission for problems of energy and

space exploration was called upon to lay the basis for long-term cooperation. "High technologies which laid the basis for arms race, for many years were a symbol of competition between our countries, whereas today, we are participants and witnesses of their turning into good signs of our cooperation. I am confident that the cooperation will not only give tangible economic advantages for both partners, but will be of great political importance for our two countries and the world community in general," Chernomyrdin said.

Speaking about the importance of the growth of commodity exchange between Russia and the United States and the removal of disbalance in mutual trade, Chernomyrdin pointed out that the implementation of reforms and Russia's integration into the world economy are impossible without broad investment cooperation.

The Russian prime minister pointed out that he understands doubts of American businessmen, who, analysing an uneasy political situation in Russia, can display certain restraint about making investments in Russia. Chernomyrdin called on them not to look upon these problems from the point of view of temporal difficulties which would be overcome, but take into account objective possibilities and prospects opening as a result of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Discusses Aid With IMF Director

LD0209063093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0604 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Washington September 2 TASS—Visiting Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chrnomyrdin met with the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Michel Camdessus and acting president of the World Bank Ernest Stren on Wednesday [1 September].

Both meetings were held behind closed doors, but TASS learned from sources in the Russian delegation that the talks with the IMF leader focused on preparations of the final agreement on granting Russia the so-called reserve credit worth three billion dollars and on the terms for receiving the second part of a system credit of the fund.

Initially, the IMF planned to grant the second part of the credit (some 1.5 billion dollars) at the end of this year or in the beginning of the next one. However, the Tokyo G-7 summit proposed to the fund to speed up and grant it early this autumn.

The talks with the World Bank focused on the list and details of those projects which are to be initiated in the near future. They mostly concern assistance in modernisation of the Russian oil and gas industry.

U.S. Presence in Georgia Viewed

PM3108114793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Larin article: "Tbilisi: 'CIA...UN! Welcome to the "Caucasian Home." ' No Entry For Moscow?"]

[Text] Chance occurrences are often the key to an explanation of events. Not for nothing do people say "It was all down to chance." Or at least it can throw light on events that were cloaked in secrecy. An unhappy accident (that was how the Georgian side interpreted it, and the Americans seem to agree)—the shooting in the back of American Fred Woodruff near Tbilisi three weeks ago—has drawn close attention to the unpublicized but increasingly tangible U.S. presence in Georgia.

In fact it transpired that, as ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA had assumed (see the issue for 12 August this year), the 45-year-old F. Woodruff, whom the State Department had made out was a "foreign service staffer" of the U.S. foreign policy department, had no connection with the diplomatic service except for using it as a "cover" for his intelligence work. This is now being directly stated by transatlantic newspapers and magazines. Thus the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT in its latest issue calls him the "CIA station chief" who, before his tragic demise, had been developing "a new intelligence network in the states that have replaced the Soviet Union," including Georgia, where he was sent in June.

Despite being unhappy about the active U.S. intelligence operation in the Caucasus, the weekly notes that Moscow "was nonetheless impressed by the fact that CIA Director James Woolsey, who was in the Russian capital when Woodruff was killed, canceled all his planned engagements, flew out to Georgia, and accompanied the body back to Washington. Russian agents," the magazine concludes, "cannot hope for that kind of attention from their own bosses." Well, the fact is indeed impressive. Inasmuch as the current Langley chief, strangely enough, for some reason sees no need to hide the fact that secret operations are being conducted on Georgian soil. But why?—that is the question.

Mark Smith, a Russian specialist at London's Royal United Services Institute of Defence Studies, offers the following solution: "The Americans are increasingly certain that Russia should not play the role of policeman or be responsible for maintaining stability in the former Soviet Union." "The fact," he claims, "that the Americans admitted that Woodruff was a CIA officer and even sent the CIA director to recover the body constitutes unambiguous evidence that the United States supports Shevardnadze."

Maybe so. And, anyway, all this would be a matter purely confined to the relationship between Tbilisi and Washington, were it not for the fact that economic and political chaos currently reigns in Georgia—something which, understandably, cannot fail to affect the "well-being" of its neighbors as well. Specifically, the Russian Federation.

The possible intervention of a "third force" (or forces) in what is currently happening on Georgian soil and in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict—which is actually what Eduard Shevardnadze is calling for—is undoubtedly of great concern to Moscow and, of course, southern regions of Russia. It would have been surprising if they had shown themselves indifferent. Since, as the Georgian leader himself admits, "Russia's interests in this region are far more extensive than U.S. interests."

If so, then, logically, it also holds all the cards with a view to bringing about the speediest settlement of this regional situation which could explode into southern Russia. The fact that this danger is no illusion is shown by the confidential CSCE report which broke last week. It stresses in particular that separate local wars in the Caucasus are a reality today.

Incidentally, official Tbilisi itself has already repeatedly warned that the so-called superpower mediation in stabilizing the situation in the region could lead to far more serious devastation than the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and would result in a huge stream of refugees, whose numbers are already growing every day. But, at the same time, Tbilisi is for some reason constantly appealing to both the UN and the CSCE, urgently asking them to undertake a mission to save the Caucasus from the threat of a catastrophic war. It is even pinning its hopes on the CIA, as confirmed by the sad case of F. Woodruff. But Moscow, which the Georgian authorities tend to accuse of supporting "a few thousand Abkhaz separatists" (something which the CSCE also now suspects), finds itself facing a notice stating "No Entry to Outsiders!"

Is this not why, as Bonn-based historian and journalist of Armenian extraction Manachuryan [name as transliterated] believes, the idea of the "Caucasian home"—whose invention is already being ascribed to E. Shevardnadze—is aimed against Russia, as interpreted by the chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council? Or why the West sees this country as a kind of pipeline to bypass Russia by pumping oil from Baku or Tengiz?

Sooner or later a chance to reveal the answer to these questions will be forthcoming. In the shape of the development of political events.

U.S. Charged With Offering Rocket Engine Deal to India

PM0209100793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Vladilen Baykov article under "Our Commentary" rubric: "Moscow Proposes and Washington Disposes"—first paragraph is ITAR-TASS report]

[Text] Delhi, 30 Aug—The United States, which is preventing the implementation of the Indian-Russian contract for cryogenic engines, is itself prepared to supply similar equipment to India. The TIMES OF INDIA reports today that J.N. Dikshit, secretary for external affairs at the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, was given to understand this during his recent visit to Washington.

In 1991 Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research] concluded a contract with the Indian Space Research Agency to supply India with cryogenic engines and to provide the necessary technology.

But Washington unexpectedly interfered in the deal. Threatening both India and Russia with sanctions, the U.S. Administration demanded that the deal be torn up on the grounds that Russia's supplying India with cryogenic engines and technology allegedly violates the regime controlling the proliferation of rocket technology.

The biased nature of that ultimatum was obvious—it was a question of ousting Russia from the Indian space market.

Washington's demarche aroused a storm of indignation in Indian political and public circles, and the government declared that it would not yield to U.S. pressure. To judge from statements which high-ranking Russian leaders made, Moscow also intended to be firm. B. Yeltsin confirmed this position during his visit to Delhi in January. "If anyone thinks that they can prevent Russia from supplying India with cryogenic engines, they are mistaken. No one will stop us, and we will supply the engines," he firmly assured representatives of Indian political and business circles.

But we really have now entered times when, if Moscow does propose something, then Washington usually disposes. Less than six months after Yeltsin's statement in India the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry was forced to send Delhi a note informing it that "because of an unforeseen circumstance, the Glavkosmos has proved unable to continue fulfilling its commitments" under the contract.

This "unforeseen circumstance" was the tough pressure which the Clinton administration brought to bear on the Russian delegation headed by Yu. Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency, at talks in Washington in July. The demand was for the delivery of space technology under contract to be ended.

Moscow yielded to that pressure.

"Washington twisted the Russian Government's arm"—this was the reaction of the press in many countries to the wrecking of the Russian-Indian deal. The cancellation of the contract with India or else its implementation in a truncated form entails political as well as material losses. The political losses are probably greater than the commercial ones. Russia's unpredictability as a business partner casts doubt on our cooperation in the military-technical sphere not only with India but also with other countries. Who, tell me, would be tempted to conclude any agreements with Moscow which might later be torn up overnight under pressure from Washington?

In conclusion it only remains to add that the United States, which is preventing deliveries of Russian cryogenic engines to India, has now announced its readiness to sell similar equipment to that country. This is reported by the influential TIMES OF INDIA.

Further commentary is superfluous here, as the saying goes.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Iranian Incursions

LD0109194393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1830 GMT 1 Sep 93

["Statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh Situation"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—A statement was issued by a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman here today. It says that "in the mass media of Iran and other countries, there have been reports that Iranian armed groups have crossed Azerbaijan's border on the pretext of protecting a reservoir and other installations near the border. These reports only make things worse at a time when circumspection, a well-considered approach, an immediate halt of military actions in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions, and the focusing of efforts on a political solution of contentious issues meet the interests of the international community, neighboring countries, and, above all, those involved in the conflict."

The Russian Foreign Ministry once again insistently calls on those involved in the conflict to "strictly observe the agreement that has been reached and to display responsibility and goodwill toward reconciliation, with the backing of the international community."

Kozyrev Visits Switzerland, Meets Officials

Meets Swiss President

LD0209115793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1041 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Berne September 2 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev began his official visit to Switzerland on Thursday [2 September] with a talk with President of the Swiss Confederation Adolf Ogi. This is a first official visit at such a high political level in the history of bilateral relations. The programme envisages the negotiations with head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Flavio Cotti and the signing of a number of agreements.

During the conversation that was held in the atmosphere of benevolence and mutual understanding, the Swiss president and Russian minister declared for the further development of bilateral contacts in various areas, noting their fruitful nature. Adolf Ogi spoke highly of a meeting with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin in February 1993 during the World Economic Forum in Davos. The Swiss president expressed support for reform in Russia and noted that Switzerland is prepared to share experience and give assistance.

Mutual interaction can be developing not only on a global scale, but also in dealing with specific matters. In this respect Kozyrev offered asistance of the Russian side in the restoration of a 13-century Swiss architectural and historic monument, a wooden bridge in Lucerne. The Swiss president showed interest in this proposal and thanked the Russian minister for compassion and support. He promissed to convey this proposal to the mayor of Lucerne.

The interlocutors gave much attention to international politics. It was stressed that with the end of the cold war, Europe received a unique opportunity for its construction based on partnership, not on the opposition of blocs.

Comments on Bosnia, Middle East

LD0109120693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Konstantin Pribytkov and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva September 1 TASS—There was a detailed discussion of all aspects of the Bosnian settlement—is how Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev evaluated his hour-long conversation with Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, co-chairmen of the Coordinating Committee of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Kozyrev met them at the Russian permanent mission in Geneva on Wednesday [1 September] morning.

"We tried to map out some coordinated moves to bring the current negotiating process to successful completion," the Russian minister told journalists.

"Russia fully supports the efforts being made by the co-chairmen, and uses all its influence to stop the war and secure an accord between the warring sides. The way to it is through mutual concessions.

"This is a manifestation of political wisdom. One should not count on force or on intervention from the outside, be it on land or from the air. We are prepared to make a substantial contribution to the implementation of a future agreement and participate in the maintenance of peace together with others," Kozyrev said.

In response to correspondents' questions, Lord Owen pointed out that the main discussions at the talks centre on "the map". He spoke highly of the role being played in the negotiating process by Vitaliy Churkin and Charles Redman, special representatives of the president of Russia and of the U.S. Administration, respectively.

Asked about Russia's attitude towards the current Arab-Israeli talks, Kozyrev said "we maintain close contacts with all negotiators and had a telephone conversation with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Tuesday. This subject was also touched upon during the conversation".

"We believe that the potential of headway in the negotiating process exists in all aspects. Progress in any of them will promote headway in the other ones. It is important that the interests of all the sides, including those of the Palestinians, of course, be taken into account", the minister said.

Further on Bosnian Involvement

PM0109155993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Yermolovich report: "Russia May Send Troops to Bosnia"]

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev said this in Geneva after meeting with [UN Secretary General] Butrus Butrus-Ghali. However, that decision is only possible on certain conditions.

First, the foreign minister stressed, agreement must be reached between the Bosnian sides at the Geneva talks. Without that there is no question of Russian servicemen's reinforcing the "blue helmets" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And one other indispensable condition is that the Security Council give the "go-ahead" to this action—and adopt a resolution on sending additional contingents to the republic.

This problem is extremely important for the United Nations. Russian troops' involvement in the UN forces is seen here as being of crucial significance, g[illegible]e links between Russia and Serbia. There are curr[illegible]round 9,500 "blue helmets" in all in Bosnia-Herzegov[illegible]a, primarily from Britain, France, Spain, and Canada. These countries would not want to considerably increase their presence there. As for Germany, Italy, and Turkey, they are precluded from taking part in the peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia "on political grounds." Yet it will take a contingent of at least 40,000 UN forces to supervise observance of the settlement agreement.

Bill Clinton made a reassuring statement in this respect by announcing that the United States is in principle prepared to send ground forces to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Butrus Butrus-Ghali is also expected to meet with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. It will take a few more weeks for the size and composition of the new contingent of UN forces to be finally decided. It is intended that the United States will provide 20,000 servicemen and Russia 6,000.

But, needless to say, everything depends on the results of the Geneva talks. They did not start 30 August as anticipated, but 31 August owing to a delay involving Izetbegovic. The talks are difficult, in particular, owing to the Muslims' new demands. Nevertheless the sides are seeking ways to compromise. This is illustrated by the agreement in principle between [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic and [Serbian leader] Radovan Karadzic to suspend combat operations, release prisoners of war, and ensure fuel deliveries to Sarajevo, as well as establish a "hot" line of communications between the Muslim and Serbian leaderships.

Serbian, Croatian, and Montenegrin Presidents Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, and Momir Bulatovic, along with Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special representative and deputy foreign minister, are taking part in the Geneva round of talks.

Radovan Karadzic Interviewed on Russian Ties

PM3108201593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 93 pp 1,6

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, by special correspondent Vasiliy Zhuravskiy in Pale, a commune of Sarajevo; date not given: "Fate of Peace in Europe Being Decided in the Balkans. PRAVDA Special Correspondent Vasiliy Zhuravskiy Interview with Serbian Republic President Radovan Karadzic"]

[Text] [Zhuravskiy] Mr. Karadzic, how satisfied are you, as president of the republic, with the Geneva treaty?

[Karadzic] I think that the treaty is equally good and equally bad for each of the three sides. Bearing in mind that the Serbs own around 64 percent of the territory of what was Bosnia-Herzegovina and will now keep 52-53 percent of it, you could say that the Serbs have lost more than they have gained. But, considering the fact that the Serbian people have for the first time exercised their right to territory in this area and their right to live in their own rather than someone else's state, and that peace will finally be established, it is more correct to consider the treaty a good thing for the Serbs.

Clearly no one can get everything, but nor is it necessary for anyone to lose everything. Thus, it was necessary to seek a compromise. The compromise proved harder for the opposing side. We, the Serbs, in control of 72 percent of the territory had to give in and be satisfied, as I have already said, with 52-53 percent. But if that serves the cause of peace and if that means a final solution, we will not begrudge the loss and we consider the Geneva plan a good one. Our assembly has approved it since the price of peace is incredibly great. On the other hand, we would not like to regard ourselves as victors, never mind behave as victors. This fratricidal war between three peoples related by blood and birth is too bloody. It will take a long time for generations to forget what has happened. It will be easier for them to forget if we live in three independent republics that have no opportunity to dominate one another.

[Zhuravskiy] It is known that a necessary compromise was reached in Geneva and that the Bosnian Serbs have not exercised many of their rights. How do you see the possibility of exercising these rights and how do you see future cooperation between all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Karadzic] We have indeed given up a considerable proportion of our rights, but we did this for the sake of peace and in order to resolve once and for all the question of the existence of a Serbian Republic, which is the Serbian people's state and in this context constitutes an abiding asset since the whole Serbian people will be protected forever in the Serbian Republic. They will no longer be resettled and evicted as they have been hitherto, nor will they be threatened with the denationalization and assimilation to which they have hitherto been subjected. I think that the three peoples will cooperate fruitfully. Man is by nature inclined to forget the bad things. There have been

no military operations between us and the Croats for five months now and we have already established good ties at all levels, although the Croats have also killed many Serbs, particularly Serbian civilians, something that is indeed hard to forgive and forget. We now consider our relations with the Croatian side satisfactory. We are willing to cooperate with the Muslims also despite the fact that they have caused us great pain and misfortune. I cannot say that everything must be forgiven and forgotten. After all, had we forgotten what happened in 1941-1945, had we forgotten the genocide perpetrated against us then, we would have suffered the same genocide today. It is because we had not forgotten the past that we have saved our people today. We know for sure that our enemies tried to slaughter part of the Serbs in Bosnia and force the rest to move to Serbia and thus cleanse Bosnia for the Muslims.

[Zhuravskiy] In connection with the current solution to the crisis in what was Bosnia-Herzegovina, what view do you now take of the possibility of unification with Serbian Krajina, of which a great deal was said previously?

[Karadzic] The Serbian people's desire for unification is a constant thing and cannot be extinguished. This kind of unification will undoubtedly be implemented within the borders of a broad association on former Yugoslav territory or within the framework of the Serbian states alone. It is only a question of when and how. Our desire to unite with Serbian Krajina is unconditional, but we do not want to talk about this before the peace talks between Krajina and Croatia are over. We give precedence to the talks, they take priority. And unification is to be postponed until the outcome of these talks is clear. If Serbian Krajina and Croatia reach agreement, we will be happy. If a treaty is not secured, we will raise the question of unification. Before that happens Serbian Krajina's right to sovereignty must of course be recognized and, as a sovereign state, it will of course decide its own destiny. I asked the Croatian leadership to put the following question to the Serbs after holding out for a period of a year, say, during which there are no killings, all enmity ceases, and all excesses stop: Do they want to remain in some kind of confederation, some kind of union with Croatia? If you asked the Serbs that today, they would not agree to it since they are afraid of the regime in Zagreb; they do not consider it a friendly regime, they do not feel secure. However, it is quite possible that it will come to some kind of broad associations between Croatia and Serbia and then between Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic since life and primarily economic laws are extremely powerful and they require us to have greater ties.

[Zhuravskiy] What are the prospects for cooperation now and for future relations between the Serbian Republic and Serbia and Montenegro?

[Karadzic] Through the Geneva plan we have won the right to conclude agreements with other countries provided that these agreements are not detrimental to the interests of other states. We want to settle many things with Serbia and Montenegro—in other words, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—and conclude a whole series of treaties on questions of the economy, education, culture, science, and information that will enable us to develop close economic and cultural cooperation. The Serbian Republic is to a certain extent also an international subject [mezhdunarodnyy subyekt]. Our borders will be ratified and internationally recognized and we will consequently have the right to develop ties with foreign states. In this context we have great hopes of cooperation with Russia, Ukraine, Greece, and other friendly countries.

[Zhuravskiy] In your opinion, what contribution is Russia making to ending the war in Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Russia at first played a very small part in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, and that has been tragic for us. If we turn to history, we can easily establish the following interdependence: When Russia was in serious difficulties, Serbia invariably also found itself in difficult conditions. This happened during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, it happened after the Russo-Japanese war when Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1905, in 1914, and in 1941-1945. When Russia was in difficulty its enemies always attacked Serbia. And the Serbian people's presence in the Balkans, their outlet on a warm sea, and their central role on the peninsula, at the crossroads of very important international routes do indeed make Serbia attractive to friends and enemies. Despite our good cultural ties, Germany has never been able to be Serbia's friend. It has always been the Serbian people's enemy. It is not only Germany, but also other apologists of Western imperial interests that have always seen the Serbian people as Russia's potential ally. Even now we are convinced that the current attack on the Serbian people was in effect the start of a campaign against Russia and the Russian Federation, a kind of limbering-up process. The situation has now changed compared with the beginning of the crisis and Russia has become considerably involved in our affairs. I am referring to Mr. Churkin's constant participation in talks and the oft-heard official voice of Russia, the Russian Government, and the Foreign Ministry. There is no doubt that the West is in all seriousness taking on board Russia's position, which resides in the fact that force should be precluded in resolving the conflict and that threats of use of force are pointless since they entail retaliatory actions and a political solution must be found. We are very grateful to Russia for this, we are immeasurably grateful to the Russian people since we know that they have never broken off their spiritual ties and friendly attitude toward us. We understand the reasons for the Russian Government's feeble involvement in our affairs until a certain point and we hope that Russia's presence in resolving the Yugoslav crisis will grow from day to day and become stronger.

[Zhuravskiy] How do you assess the possibility of future cooperation between the Serbian Republic and Russia?

[Karadzic] Despite our being a small country (our territory occupies around 30,000 square kilometers and we have a population of around 1.6 million), in my view, we will cooperate perfectly with Russia. We have many small enterprises that are able to produce the consumer goods

that Russia needs. And, although we do not produce much of this output, I think that it will be of interest to Russia, particularly in certain sectors. Our entrepreneurs are already at work in Perm Oblast building several factories and hospitals there. We are prepared to develop production activity throughout Russia and I think that we will be desirable partners everywhere. There are many reasons for that, including our friendly ties and relations and the historical and spiritual proximity of our peoples. We have obtained the right to open consular missions. The first country in which we would like to open a consulate will undoubtedly be Russia.

[Zhuravskiy] Mr. Karadzic, do you consider the Muslims a nation? Why has the Islamic fundamentalist world made this war so ferocious? Is it true that there are 6,000 mojahedin fighting in the Bosnian Islamic army?

[Karadzic] I think that the Muslims ended up in a very difficult position when the former Yugoslav regime declared them a nation. I would like to recall the names of certain outstanding Muslims, for whom nationality was stronger than religion. They include Skender Kulenovic, Mesa Selimovic, and ahead of them—Hasan Rebac, Osman Dzikic, a poet from Mostar, and many others. When it is a question of national feelings, and when these feelings are stronger than religious feeling, Muslims are Serbs. But that is only true of people of high spiritual fervor. I personally think that Muslims are not a nation and their greatest misfortune is the fact that they are separated from the Serbian people to whom they belong both by birth and ethnically. But since they do not want to be Serbs, we must accept that. Obviously, religious feeling has brought them far closer to Iran and Sudan than to Serbia and the Serbs. And we must accept that as a reality. I don't know whether they are a nation or not, but I do know that they are not Serbs, since if they were Serbs, they would not be enemies for the third time in a century, nor would they be so hostile to the Serbs. The current leadership of the Bosnian Muslims is indeed fundamentalist, pan-Islamic, and integrationist, and is closest to the regimes in Sudan and Iran. However, the Muslim masses are for the most part Turcophiles. Their memory is geared to the times of Ottoman domination when they converted from Orthodoxy to Islam. They want Turkey to return to Europe as a great force. Some circles in the West are regrettably trying to create two regional forces in Germany and Turkey to control Europe and Russia, whereby Turkey would expand its influence over the Islamic republics in the former Soviet Union. In this respect the pan-Islamic International, the Conference of Pan-Islamic States, undoubtedly has a tremendous influence on the bloodshed in Bosnia. And its influence takes the form not only of supplying the Bosnian Muslims with money and weapons, but also sending mojahedin, of whom there are indisputably several thousand in Bosnia.

[Zhuravskiy] What would you say about our Russian guys?

[Karadzic] I don't know whether there are any here now. I do know that there were a small number of Russian volunteers. We did not undertake any initiative to develop this movement, we did not want your young people to come to us in greater numbers and any of them to die. In conclusion let me say this: Russia was, is, and will be a great power.

Yeltsin Issues Statement on War Criminals, Victims

PM0109131793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 1

[Undated Statement by President Boris Yeltsin: "In Favor of the Right To Live"]

[Text] The Russian leadership's attention has recently been focused on questions connected with the drafting of the new constitution and the creation of conditions favorable to fundamental transformations in the life of society and state. However, there are also problems of a global nature, problems which are becoming especially acute for the fate of world civilization and which we cannot and simply have no right to refuse to help resolve.

I am talking about the destructive effect of armed conflicts, which are becoming truly a disaster of our time, on the world's humanitarian climate. Thousands of people, mainly civilians, are dying, and the foundations of human civilization are being destroyed.

The terrible thing is that mankind is beginning to get used to reports of sophisticated methods of destroying people in combat operations and cruel treatment of the wounded, prisoners, and the civilian population. Open terror is employed, mass deportations and hostage-taking are encouraged, and corpses are defiled.

This ignominious page in history must be turned as quickly as possible. It is essential to augment the world community's efforts to prevent and settle conflicts by taking urgent steps to alleviate their brutal consequences for the peoples and individuals who find themselves in war zones.

True to traditions of humanism and mercy, Russia regards itself duty-bound to stir the world community to strengthen the protection afforded the victims of both international and internal conflicts. We propose specific measures to achieve those noble aims. To be brief, we are talking about a range of measures aimed at concerting the world community's efforts in ensuring effective protection of the victims of armed conflicts. This will require above all the formation of an atmosphere wherein all breaches of international humanitarian law are vigorously rejected and roundly condemned. The time has come to arouse and mobilize the enormous potential of international legal means of protection for the victims of conflicts which mankind has built up. We need to take a critical look at current international legal instruments with a view to tightening up the "bounds of the permissible" in the conduct of combat operations. A system to monitor and ensure rapid reaction by the international community to breaches of the rules of war should be established.

The primary question is to ensure that war criminals are punished without fail. Life has shown in a number of

instances that the authority of national law in these questions is not high enough. A system of effective international justice in its war crimes dimension and the creation of an "international prosecutor's office" are essential.

We intend to supplement our efforts on a universal level—within the UN system—with steps of regional import, above all within the framework of the CIS and CSCE.

In Russia it is essential that we work to bring our legislation and its application into line with the harsh realities of our troubled time, when the flames of military conflagrations have come right up to Russia's borders and many of our fellow-citizens in the expanses of the former USSR have become hostages of military madness.

The Russian diplomatic service has started putting this program into practice in accordance with the president's instruction. It intends to carry it out in close contact with the whole world community. In that regard I urge the leaders of all interested states and international organizations to support Russia's humanitarian initiative and to make their own contribution to establishing effective international cooperation in strengthening the protection of the victims of armed conflicts.

Russian Peacekeeping Efforts Praised

PM3108133993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 2

[Manki Ponomarev article under the "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Overcoming Ambitions and Resentment"]

[Text] A bad peace is better than a good quarrel... This ancient folk wisdom has been reaffirmed with the entry into force of settlements in a number of bloody conflicts. One of these is in Abkhazia.

Meetings held this week between Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Georgian head Eduard Shevardnadze, and Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba finalized an end to hostilities on the sun-kissed Black Sea coast. The agreement reached between the warring sides with Russian assistance is basically being implemented. The bloodshed has stopped and the guns have fallen silent. The suspicious silence is only occasionally broken by rare bursts of machine-gun fire, as fighters' nerve gives out...

Overall, however, the military status quo in Abkhazia has been consolidated. A political settlement is now on the agenda. This was what the meeting in Moscow was all about: finding a settlement that satisfies all the sides.

At the present time it may still be difficult for us to understand the significance of what is happening; only time can really provide a correct assessment. But one thing is clear: Force cannot be used to resolve any very complex problem arising in relations between peoples, especially peoples who have lived together for centuries. Force only provokes counterreaction and bitterness, which leads to a clouding of reason and a desire to repay like with like—blood for blood, one death for another, and all teeth in exchange for one. Real and imagined slights can only be overcome via a political process and through negotiations, albeit lengthy, difficult, and strained. So that people can live side by side, not necessarily as the best of friends but at least as good neighbors.

Some may smile: All these considerations, they will say, are just commonplaces. Is it even worth repeating them, to try to prove the blindingly obvious? Well, apparently it is. All too often we encounter people who forget these truths and who even pretend that they have never heard of them. At the slightest provocation they reach for their weapons—which can only be an argument in the most extreme circumstances, when a fatal danger hangs over their homeland and threatens the people's happiness and prosperity.

At this point we should say a word about the place and role of Russia. After all, there are plenty of people both in the Commonwealth and abroad who are prepared to accuse Russia of acting in an imperialist way, striving to lord it over anybody and everybody, and wishing to restore and assert its statehood. But let us recall who quelled the armed conflict on the banks of the Dniester. Russia, with its 14th Army and peacekeeping forces. Who is helping to stabilize the situation in Tajikistan by guarding its southern borders? Primarily Russia, with its 201st Division and Russian border troops. Finally, who halted the bloody skirmish on the Gumista River and in the miners' city of Tkvarcheli? Russia again.

I do not know whether I am right or not, but I cannot accept much of what is currently going on in our country. Nevertheless I cannot fail to give due credit to the recent efforts our country has made to peacefully resolve the extremely acute conflicts that have flared up on its borders and in states which until quite recently were constituent parts of a united Soviet Union. If this trend in Russian politics becomes established, then clearly we can count on a definite increase in its prestige on the international stage. Especially as it has already set a good example in this sphere.

It is hard to believe that the threat of relentless NATO bombing alone has forced the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to start talks. During World War II the courageous Yugoslav peoples proved that no force could bring them to their knees or compel them to submit. Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in this Balkan country have always looked hopefully to Russia. The principled position that Russia has adopted recently and Moscow's persistent efforts to resolve Bosnia's problems by political means has shown them the way to reach initial consensus around the negotiating table in Geneva. Around the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. And even though the battle is continuing, everybody seems to be moving toward the view that it will soon abate. Right now it is Russia that is insistently urging the political leaders of the warring sides and the peoples of Bosnia to show political wisdom, overcome their mutual slights, reproaches, and mistrust, and make up their minds in favor of peace.

I certainly have no desire to contrast Russia's policy with the actions of another world power. But how can it not be said: Under the noble flag of delivering humanitarian aid, U.S. soldiers quickly put on blue UN helmets and went to

the Horn of Africa. Washington described the landing of its troops in Somalia as Operation Restore Hope. But they attempted to resolve the complex problems of this long-suffering country, exhausted and bled white by a lengthy civil war, by employing... overwhelming force. And what has happened? Somalis have died, as have soldiers from the UN Forces—Americans, Italians, and Pakistanis—and we are now even further from a peace settlement than on the day when the first uniformed U.S. Marines appeared on the streets of Mogadishu. Now the U.S. President has been forced to send 400 commandos into this hot spot that the Americans have created for themselves—the kind of Rambos and terminators whose only argument is the bullet.

Unfortunately, it must be admitted that people are still resorting to this argument not just in faraway Africa but also close to Russia's borders—in Azerbaijan. Right now it is even difficult to recall how many times the warring sides have signed cease-fire agreements between the Azerbaijani and Karabakh formations. Or how often these agreements have been wrecked: Now one side, now the other has suddenly decided that, by using force, it might be able to turn the course of events in its favor. Russia has thus far been unable to help here. Its attempts to persuade the belligerents that, in order to return to a peaceful existence, they must employ the force of reason rather than the force of arms seem not to have been convincing enough.

But, until reason triumphs, we need to remind people of commonplaces and repeat banalities to the effect that a bad peace is better than a good quarrel. Of course it is better. But a good peace is better still.

It is not easy to achieve one. It takes time and patience and requires reason to triumph over force. But it is ultimately possible. Because if we and the Americans were able to overcome the protracted bitterness of the Cold War, if we are now able to talk about partnership and cooperation rather than irreconcilable enmity—although, let us be completely honest, we talk more than we actually cooperate—it means there is no problem in the world that cannot be resolved. This is the sole end toward which all the parties concerned must strive. And it is not enough just to strive—they must act.

Troop Withdrawal From Germany 'on Schedule'

LD0209103093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0922 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—Russian troops are withdrawn from Germany on schedule, TASS was told at the press centre of the Russian Western Group of Troops Thursday [2 September].

580 out of 770 military townships have been already transferred to Germany and Russian troops have been completely withdrawn from three German states, according to the press centre which added that in two other states the strength of the troops had been considerably reduced.

Thus, in Brandenburg mostly control bodies of the Western Group of Troops and of the 16th Air Force Army remained, while a half of servicemen had been withdrawn from Saxony-Anhalt.

The Russian command is satisfied with cooperation with German authorities, according to the press centre. Good understanding has been established between the Russian military and German federal and local leaderships, as well as with the Defence Ministry, heads of police, railway and water transport, it added.

Commander Comments on Pullout

LD0109164793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexey Korinenko]

[Text] Berlin September 1 TASS—Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the West Army Group, expressed satisfaction with the progress of Russian Troops withdrawal from Germany. In an interview with the newspaper "BERLINER ZEITUNG" on Wednesday [1 September], he noted that troops had been practically withdrawn from three states - Thuringia, Saxony and Mecklenburg, and the numerical strength of Russian troops in Saxony-Anhalt had been reduced by half. As for Brandenburg, only administrative bodies are presently staying on there.

The commander branded as "a lie" allegations about various "shady deals" engineered by the West Army Group officers. According to him, a few checks have been lately carried out in the group, but none of the alleged crimes were confirmed. Burlakov did not rule out that certain offences did take place. In 1993 the prosecutor's office initiated criminal proceedings in 24 cases, in five of which officers of the West Army Group were involved. "However, I flatly dismiss allegations that we maintain contacts with mafia-style, corrupted elements", the commander stressed in conclusion.

NATO Officials Meet Russian Experts

LD0109160093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A group of NATO officials met Russian political scientists, lawyers, military, and civilian experts in Moscow today. They discussed new trends in the development of the North Atlantic alliance and prospects for its relations with Russia. NATO has recently adopted a new strategy. At the top of its agenda is fighting the wave of conflicts currently flooding Europe, fighting international terrorism, and reimposing strict control over the arms trade. It was stressed at the meeting that the implementation of these objectives is impossible without Russia's participation.

However, some experts believe that there has been a cooling in Russia's relations with NATO. Virtually none of

the major joint projects, such as setting up joint peacekeeping forces, are being carried out. Nonetheless, it was stated that these difficulties are temporary.

At the session of the NATO council due in December this year, East-West relations will be at the top of the agenda.

G-7 Diplomats Meet in Moscow To Discuss Aid

LD0109143793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Senior diplomats of seven leading industrial countries and representatives of the EC commission held their first meeting in Moscow on Wednesday [1 September] to discuss assistance to Russia.

The meeting of the group was held in the Japanese ambassador's residence in Moscow.

The group was set up in accordance with a decision by the heads of state of seven industrialised countries at their meeting in Tokyo in July. They agreed to allocate three billion U.S. dollars to support privatisation in Russia. The countries may also grant 500 million dollars in technical credits to Russia. One billion dollars will be issued in export credits. As much will be issued by the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other international finance organisations. The remaining 500 million will be granted by the world banks to Russian regions which will carry out structural reorganisation of big enterprises.

The participants in the meeting have decided to establish contacts with international financial institutions and Russian officials to define concrete spheres and regions which need assistance most. Japanese diplomat Yuichi Kusumoto, who has been elected chairman of the group, said the change of the government in Japan will not affect G-7 plans of assistance to Russia.

The group will hold its next meeting on September 17.

Shokhin Notes IMF Concern at Financial Situation

LD0109122493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] The IMF is expressing disquiet over the situation in the financial sphere of Russia's economy, Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin has stated. The second phase of the fund's system of loans and its reserve credit can only be granted to the Russian Federation if inflation is reduced to single figures, which has not yet happened. But Shokhin believes that the Russian economy does still have possibilities for financial stability by the end of this year, and that means that there is a chance that these loans could be received.

Defense Ministry Collegium Examines Tajik Border Tasks

PM0109153793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Defense Ministry Public Relations Center report: "Border Guards Perform Tasks, But Proper Conditions Needed"]

[Text] A collegium session held during the evening of 27 August at the Russian Federation Defense Ministry examined progress made in implementing the Russian president's 27 July edict "On Measures To Settle the Conflict on the Tajik-Afghan Border and Generally Stabilize the Situation on the Russian Federation's Borders."

The collegium approved the proposals formulated and submitted by Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Border Troops, to equip the border, enhance combat readiness, strengthen ties with the population, and create the requisite conditions for the troops to perform the tasks they are set.

Yeltsin, Snegur Stress Improving Ties

LD0109162993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—The presidents of Russia and Moldova have spoken in favor of broadening and deepening their bilateral ties and of overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of the development of this process, says a communique summing up a meeting in the Kremlin of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur.

The communique goes on to say that the two presidents, who are willing to strengthen political, trade, economic and, cultural links between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova and to raise them to a qualitatively new level, have agreed to continue their work aimed at creating an economic union within the framework of the CIS.

During the talks, the communique says, the sides discussed issues connected with the negotiating process regarding the temporary presence of the Russian 14th Army on Moldova's territory and the dates for its withdrawal, as well as a settlement in the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova. Boris Yeltsin emphasized that a final settlement should be implemented by granting special legal status to the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova with strict respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and respect for human rights.

Questions connected with a broadening of the treaty and legal basis of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova were also touched upon. The president reaffirmed the great importance of the treaty regarding the principles of interstate relations between the two countries. Mircea Snegur particularly noted that the entry into force of the treaty will impart fresh dynamism to

friendly links between Russia and Moldova in the political, economic, and other spheres of interstate relations, the communique says.

Russia Urged To Help Ukraine Avert Economic 'Collapse'

MK0109145293 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No.36, 5 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 31 Aug 93) p A5

[Vladimir Malinkovich, political scientist from Kiev, report under the "Forecast" rubric: "Economy's 'Black Hole'"]

[Text] There is no need to prove that Ukraine's economy is in the red. What happens to Russia, however, if the policy of "the pure economists" from Moscow prevails over common sense?

Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov said: "It is time to put an end to charity. The problem of the CIS countries' debts is overly politicized. I do not understand what is meant by countries in the near abroad or far abroad. There are simply foreign countries, and there is trade at world prices." He is right, albeit in part.

Indeed, the current level of Ukraine's trade relations with Russia is not encouraging. Ukraine receives 32 trillion karbovantsi worth of goods from Russia, and it sells only a total of 20 trillion. Since there is a shortage of rubles to pay for Russian deliveries, its debt is just as huge—around one trillion rubles for oil deliveries.

Maybe this is the reason that an opinion is gaining ground in Russia whereby Russia will be able to survive without Ukraine (Belarus, Kazakhstan etc.), and it is they who will have to go cap in hand to Russia. The neochauvinism with underlying economic motives displayed by philistines is just half the problem. The real problem is when ministers (formerly Gaydar and currently Boris Fedorov and, to some extent, Shokhin) think only in economic terms.

A lack of political logistics for reform precipitated the defeat of the Gaydar team, but a transfer to pure self-accounting in relations with Ukraine will spell not only the collapse of the Ukrainian economy. If Ukraine with its population of 53 million is left to its own devices, it will tumble into an abyss, but it will prove strong enough to drag Russia along.

Ukraine's economic failure is not just a slump in production and job cuts at Russian enterprises for which Ukrainian ties are crucial. This entails a much more serious unemployment for a lot of people in Ukraine itself, a multitude that cannot be contained by "transparent" borders, and many millions of refugees will spill over into Russia.

This will mean a sharp heightening of conflicts between those who would like to unite themselves with Russia (there are many such people in eastern and southern Ukraine) and those who would never accept this.

Possible conflicts of this sort will break out against the backdrop of a paralysis of state power, partisan infighting for the levers of government, unresolved language problems, and the Russian- Ukrainian-Tatar dispute over Crimea. If anyone ventures "to spill blood," this will mean civil war.

This is, obviously, the worst-case scenario, but even barring war, Russia will not be able to stand apart from Ukraine's general crisis.

An alternative can be provided in an economic union of the newly- independent countries of the former USSR. This will evidently impose some costs on Russia.

There is another important point I would like to make. Realistically minded Russian politicians, disregarding opinions of "pure economists," will nonetheless "feed up" Ukraine in order to avert a catastrophe along Russia's southwestern borders. The problem is, however, that in an isolated and non-self-reliant Ukraine, this "food" will go down into yet another "black hole." It is only by working together within a common economic space that Russian and Ukrainian managers can reconcile their reform programs.

Burbulis Comments on Visit to Japan

LD0109175993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, head of the Strategy Center, left for Japan today. He has no authority to discuss specific legal relations between Russia and Japan, but, according to him, the essence of the discussions in Tokyo will be reported to the president. The Japanese NHK Television Company has presented us with extracts from an interview with Gennadiy Burbulis.

[Burbulis] "I believe that President Yeltsin's visit is sufficiently practicable, in mid-September. As far as domestic political problems in Russia are concerned, they are not at a level or scale to curtail our foreign policy or to cause a domestic political wind to blow. It is not President Yeltsin's principle to shirk responsible actions or decisions. But, finally, I hope that the new Japanese leadership—the new Japanese government—will also be sufficiently interested in our jointly formulating a new style of political relations between states. I have faith in this as I have a very specific principle of solid reform-making."

[Announcer] Gennadiy Burbulis also has his own opinion on recent pronouncements by the prime minister on the four South Kurils islands. I recall that Chernomyrdin said that no one will give up any islands while he is in office.

[Burbulis] "I believe this is Mr. Chernomyrdin's personal position and opinion and it in no way reflects the exhaustive approaches that exist today in the Russian Federation. Moreover, it does not correspond with realities."

Japanese Ship Arrested for Illegal Fishing

LD0109122093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0731 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniya Lents]

[Text] Vladivostok, 1 Sep—A Japanese schooner, the eighth to be held since the beginning of summer by Russian border guards for illegal fishing in Russian territorial waters, was laid up yesterday in Krabovaya Bay on the island of Shikotan.

The sea border patrol apprehended the poachers red-handed, so to speak. On board of the "Tokomaru-18" schooner, apprehended in the Kunashir strait, they discovered fishing equipment in working order and an illegal catch of a vast quantity of salmon, halibut, crabs, octopus, and other sea delicacies.

At present the poachers are awaiting trial. According to early reports, they will lose not only their equipment, but also the schooner.

Russian Exhibit at Korean Aerospace Expo Described

PM0209104793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1350 GMT 29 Aug 93

[By Vladimir Sukhoy; from the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sukhoy] For the rest of the day the Russian exhibit [at Expo-93 in Taejon, ROK] was the center of attention. It consists of two parts, as it were—a covered pavilion with a floor space of around 1,000 square meters, and an open-air show where a life-size model of the Mir space station and an Su-29 sports and aerobatic aircraft are on display. The Russian Chamber of Trade and Industry took responsibility for organizing the exhibition. Outwardly, our pavilion is painfully reminiscent of the now-defunct Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. As for its content—and this was the view of many people to whom we have talked—it is very much in keeping with the motto of Expo-93, encouraging a search for new ways of development.

The exhibition's centerpiece is space equipment. Exhibits include the actual descent module used by Valentina Tereshkova, a working model of the Mars buggy, the "Kupon"—a promising new communications satellite [inscription reads "Science-and-Production Association named for S.A. Lavochkin"]—and a universal power plant built at the Energiya Science-and-Production Association for the Buran space shuttle and suitable for use in the most diverse areas.

Aircraft from the Sukhoy design bureau are widely represented. An "Ekranolet" [wingship] which combines the qualities of an aircraft and a ground-effect vehicle stands out from the rest.

A great deal is being shown by the Russian Academy of Sciences. The exhibits include models of environment-friendly sources of energy, unique pharmaceutical preparations, bathyscaphes, and so on and so forth.

The Crosna Joint-Stock Company has provided round-the-clock reception of three Russian Television channels through its satellite systems. They are being shown simultaneously on several TV screens which form a huge video pannel.

South Korean Armed Forces Chief To Visit

PM0109154593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Unattributed report from Own Information-ITAR-TASS column: "Military Contacts Develop Between Russia and ROK"]

[Text] General Yi Yae-ko, chairman of the ROK Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff, will visit Russia 5 through 12 September in order to strengthen mutual understanding and organize a military exchange between the two countries, a ROK Defense Ministry spokesman said in Seoul. The ROK general is to visit Moscow and Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays.

This trip will precede a friendly visit by a detachment of ROK warships to Vladivostok. Two ships will leave for Russia 20 September, returning a visit by three Russian Pacific Fleet warships to the South Korean port of Pusan 31 August.

Russian Pacific Fleet Ships Arrive in China

OW0109054893 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0210 GMT 26 Aug 93

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] A report from the Pacific Fleet Press Center: Today is the fourth day of the official visit by a detachment of the Pacific Fleet ships, comprising of the antisubmarine vessel Admiral Panteleyev, destroyer Bystryy, and fleet support tanker Pechenga to the Chinese port of Qingdao. En route to Qingdao, our detachment of ships encountered Blue Ridge, flagship of the U.S. 7th Fleet. Vice Admiral Khmelnov, detachment commander, greeted Vice Admiral Wright, commander of the U.S. 7th Fleet. In a reciprocal greeting, Vice Admiral Wright wished smooth sailing to the Russian ships.

During the passage through the Korean Straits, at the place where seamen died in the Battle of Tsushima, our seamen paid homage by firing a triple gun salute and lowering the ships' flags.

The detachment was accompanied by two frigates of the Japanese Navy, the Iwase and the Mikuma. The flight over the ships was carried out by two Japanese ground attack fighters and a shore-based Orion patrol aircraft. In the Yellow Sea, our seamen encountered a detachment of ships from the Republic of Korea consisting of a destroyer and three frigates. The detachment commanders exchanged greetings and wished each other smooth sailing.

In Qingdao, the Russian seamen were welcomed by the deputy commander of the PRC Northern Fleet and

Rogachev, Russian ambassador to PRC. The official delegation, headed by Vice Admiral Igor Khmelnov, departed for Beijing where talks will be held with the leadership of the PRC Department of the Navy. Russian seamen in Qingdao visited ships of the Chinese Navy and city's enterprises. Various popular cultural and sports measures were organized for them.

Russian Border Ship Interdicts Illegal PRC Traders

OW0109045493 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 0845 GMT 26 Aug 93

[From the Kray newscast]

[Text] A brief report about the appearance of a border patrol vessel on the Amur River at the fifth km alignment dam was carried on one of the evening kray newscasts of Khabarovsk Radio. The author of this report surmised that this was linked with the violation of navigation rules on Russian waters by foreign vessels.

As we were told by the press service of the Far East Border District, the appearance of the border patrol vessel was in response to violations by Chinese ships whose crews are not abiding by the rules for anchoring in roadsteds of Russian territorial waters. The crews of PRC vessels are engaging in mass attempts to carry out unlawful barter deals with Russians. This week alone our border guards managed to prevent more than 10 deals of this sort and to detain a boat on which there were two Chinese, one Russian, and 12 million rubles. To the grief of the smugglers, this time their barter operation failed.

According to the Far East Border District Press Service, the border patrol ship is positioned in the fifth km area of the Amur River to maintain the border river regime in accordance with the law on the State Border of the Russian Federation.

Political Issues

Yeltsin's Dismissal of Rutskoy, Shumeyko Viewed

'Text' of Yeltsin Decree

LD0109134193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] We have received from the Russian president's press service the text of the president's decree temporarily relieving Rutskoy and Shumeyko of their duties, signed on 1 September 1993. The decree says:

The situation that has arisen as a result of mutual accusations of corruption and legal claims officials of the system of executive power make on each other, is seriously undermining the prestige of the state power of the Russian Federation.

In connection with the investigation that is under way and also in connection with the fact that there have been no instructions for the vice president of the Russian Federation to discharge specific powers vested in the president of the Russian Federation or to stand in for the president of the Russian Federation in cases where the latter is away and in accordance with Point 17 of Article 121-5, and Parts 4 and 5 of Article 121-7 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and Article 8 of the Russian Federation Law on the Russian President, I decide temporarily to relieve Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Federation, and Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Government of the Russian Federation, of their duties. This decree comes into force upon signing.

[Dated] 1 September 1993.

Kostikov Defends Dismissals

LD0209102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1007 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—Presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov rejected accusations that President Boris Yeltsin had acted illegally by suspending Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy from office and snubbed at Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and the opposition for "juridical incorrectness of assessments" of the presidential decree.

"The given decree was adopted in the framework of authority of the president on the basis of Article 8 of the law "On the president of the RSFSR" which provides a possibility of "removing from office officials" of the executive authority according to Item 17 of Article 121-5 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation until an investigation of the facts of abuse of office is over", Kostikov said in a statement Thursday.

He added that the decision regarding Rutskoy was also based on Parts 4 and 5 of Article 121-7 of the Constitution which fixes that the vice-president fulfils the assignments of the president. "It is common knowledge that Boris Yeltsin has not delegated any powers to Aleksandr Rutskoy of late", the spokesman said.

Kostikov especially stressed that the suspension is a temporary measure and will be in force until the investigation of the charges of corruption against Rutskoy and First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko is over.

"The talk is not about a removal from office, but about a temporary suspension from fulfilling duties in full conformity with the law", he said, adding that the final decision depends on the results of the investigation and, possibly, on a court verdict.

The actions of the president should not be assessed as an extraordinary measure, they are of a disciplinary character, according to the spokesman. The president proceeded from the interests of state management, political ethics, from the understanding that top state officials should have an impeccable reputation and act exclusively in the interests of Russia.

"The president could no longer tolerate the situation when the prestige of the state authority is damaged by the contrapposition and mutual charges of high-ranking officials", Kostikov said.

The reaction of the Parliament Chairman, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and the opposition to the presidential decision was qualified by Kostikov as "juridically incorrect assessment" based on an arbitrary interpretation of the presidential decree because completely different articles of the Constitution were taken into consideration by the opposition than by the president.

"It cannot but cause bewilderment that, supporting the anti-corruption fight in words, Ruslan Khasbulatov tries in deeds to oppose the fulfilment of the presidential decree aimed, first and foremost, at curbing the negative phenomenon", Kostikov said.

Kostikov Assails Rutskoy Activities

LD0109144593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] As we have already reported, President Boris Yeltsin has decided to dismiss Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. Here is how presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov commented on this event to our correspondent Yevgeniy Zherebenkov:

[Begin Kostikov recording] The dismissal of Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy was brought about by a whole number of facts. It is not just a matter of his being accused of corruption. There are other circumstances. By virtue of his post, the vice president should have been a factor of stabilization, a factor of state construction.

Unfortunately, Vice President Rutskoy's whole activity bears witness to the reverse. He has become a serious factor of Russian instability. His activity has begun to inflict damage on both the state and foreign policy interests of Russia. His statements and his trips around the

country sow discord. He virtually calls for rebellion against the lawful authorities. For instance, even today he has again left for Vorkuta in order to incite the miners to strike. This is disastrous for Russia and it is disastrous for Russians.

The decision to dismiss Rutskoy from his post as vice president is completely in accordance with the Constitution. This is a serious and well-considered decision by the president. This decision was dictated by considerations of state security and by your interests, as Russians. [end recording]

Presidential Official Explains Decree

LD0109163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1551 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS - Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree suspending Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy means that the president has no intention of giving him any orders and will not do so until the investigation into the allegations of corruption is over, Anatoliy Krasikov, head of the presidential press service, said on Wednesday [1 September].

In an interview with radio Ekho Moskvy (Moscow's Echo), Krasikov stressed that "at present the president has no orders for Rutskoy. In reality he was the vice-president only formally, but did not carry out any duties. This decree means that the president has no intention of giving him any orders and will not do so for the whole duration of investigation into his activities."

Commenting on the decree which also suspended first Vice-Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, Krasikov said "I hope that the suspension of Vladimir Shumeyko will not have a negative impact on the government's work. Its policy has been defined and is being carried out actively by the prime minister, his deputies and ministers."

Krasikov emphasised that the time limits of the suspension cannot be defined by the decree. Otherwise it would violate the principle of independence of the court and could be considered as an attempt to dictate conditions to law enforcement bodies.

Similar measures can be adopted against other officials, he warned. "By taking such measures the president was guided not by political sympathies or antipathies, but solely by the interests of the cause, the interests of full, fair and objective investigation," Krasikov said.

Rutskoy Makes No Comment

LD0109140293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] A RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent has received confirmation from Aleksandr Rutskoy's office that the vice president was today acquainted with the president's decree on his temporary dismissal. Rutskoy had no comment to make, and afterward left by air for Vorkuta.

Final arrangements for his program there and the length of his trip will be decided after he arrives in the Arctic city. However, as an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from Aleksandr Segal, chairman of the Vorkuta Council and head of administration for the city, the vice president's plans for tomorrow include a visit to the Severnaya mine, a meeting with servicemen, visits to a number of vitally important installations, and discussions about the city's problems.

Rutskoy Calls Decree Unlawful

LD0109190393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Ye. Kuznetsov] This evening, Aleksandr Rutskoy arrived in Vorkuta, the large industrial center in Komi Republic. At 1700 Moscow time, his aircraft made a stopover in Syktyvkar, the capital of the republic, where the authorities had been notified of their visitor at the last moment. In answer to the first question about the president's decree today on Vladimir Shumeyko and Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who have been removed from office, Rutskoy said:

[Begin Rutskoy recording] This decree has absolutely no force since it violates the law. In my view it is not I who should give an appraisal of the decree. Appraisals should be given by the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Soviet, and this will be done. You know, I am already deeply convinced that it is useless to put pressure on this government and this president. [end recording]

[Correspondent Ye. Kuznetsov] In the official delegations lounge, Rutskoy held an improvised press conference. Answering questions from local and central mass media journalists, he placed all the blame for what was happening in the country on President Boris Yeltsin personally, and set forth his well-known political views, giving an assurance that he would bring criminal proceedings against those accusing him of involvement in corruption.

Shumeyko Supports Decree

LD0109181893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] As we already reported today, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree that temporarily removes Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko from their posts. Correspondent Anton Grishin has just come back from Old Square, where he interviewed Shumeyko. Shumeyko said, among other things, the following:

[Begin Shumeyko recording] I always fight political opponents in exactly the same way as I would politicians. For me, the Supreme Soviet is a political body. I do not condemn every deputy individually. In fact, I do not condemn anyone with whom I do business. I hear that during "Parliamentary Hour" yesterday—I do not watch it myself, unfortunately—they were saying the most fantastic things, such as Shumeyko is collecting compromising material on Chernomyrdin. I have no idea how you go

about doing that—collecting compromising materials. That sort of thing is completely out of character for me, and I have other things to do. You know what I mean?

As to how this development of events is going to end, well, every day can bring something new. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA recently published a piece saying that Shumeyko has an account in Canada, and they cited some sort of documents and so on. Every day you get more and more of these forgeries: rumors, gossip—this, that, and the other. At the end of the day, all of this needs to be straightened out, and the president was absolutely right when he signed this decree today. It is time to straighten things out once and for all. Dismiss us from our positions and make a decision. After you have decided, either reinstate us or put us somewhere else—in jail maybe, or whatever. [end recording]

Shumeyko Files Lawsuit Against Rutskoy

LD0109134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1216 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko asked the president to temporarily relieve him of his duties because he has to pay much time to refute the accusations of corruption advanced against him by the vice-president against who he filed a lawsuit in a Moscow court, according to Shumeyko's spokesman.

Grigoriy Bukhvalov released the following statement on Wednesday [1 September]:

"The decree (dismising Shumeyko)...was adopted by the president on Shumeyko's request as his participation in the investigation of cases connected with accusations of top officials of corruption demands considerable time and effort, while the first deputy prime minister today coordinates issues of information and personnel provision for reforms, interaction with political parties, public organisations and religious movements, small and medium-scale businesses, education, science, culture and sport, works with corresponding ministries and departments. All this, including acute political problems and routine work demands enormous effort and time.

"It is to be especially noted that the removal is temporary indeed and should not be connected with rumours distributed by certain top officials about a criminal case against Shumeyko. According to the letter of the prosecutor general dated August 18, 1993 'such a case does not exist at all'.

"Thus the talk is about the fulfilment of the civic duty, about assistance to investigation. I would like to remind that none of the accusations advanced by Aleksandr Rutskoy (against Shumeyko) was confirmed—today it is well known both to the prosecutor general and his deputy who acted as a state prosecutor in the Supreme Soviet, and to the vice-president.

"Naturally Shumeyko will not live without attention those accusations for which he is to thank Rutskoy, Makarov (deputy prosecutor general), deputies who spoke out at the notorious session (of Parliament), and to those mass media which rushed to fulfil the social order. [sentence as received]

"On Monday, August 30 a lawsuit was filed in the Lenin District Court of Moscow demanding to protect the dignity and honour, according to which the vice-president is to publicly apologise and pay a compensation (to be used for the construction of schools and kindergartens). Similar lawsuits will be filed against the "co-authors" of Rutskoy in the near future.

"I hope that all the issues will be considered in a short time and the first deputy prime minister will be able to resume fulfilling his duties", Bukhvalov said.

Khasbulatov: Parliament Will Rescind Decree

LD0109154593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Parliamentary Hour" program]

[Text] On 1 September President Yeltsin issued a decree temporarily relieving Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko of their duties. In connection with the publication of this decree, Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has made the following statement:

First, the statement says, I am extremely surprised at such a manifest, obvious, and crude violation of the Russian Federation Constitution which is evidence of the low legal level of the whole presidential labaratory which is fundamentally impermissible.

Second, in accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution, the president and the vice president can be removed only by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation provided that their actions contain the relevant violations stipulated by the articles of the Russian Federation Constitution.

Third, by adopting a decree they know to be unconstitutional, its authors are striving to create a legal precedent for the future. Therefore, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will examine this decree at a session of the Supreme Soviet and I have no doubt that it will rescind it. But even before the session of the Supreme Soviet examines it, I state that this decree is illegal and should not be implemented.

Rumyantsev Interviewed on Dismissals

LD0109133793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1143 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Report by program announcers Oleg Vorobyev and Tatyana Ivanova]

[Excerpt] [Vorobyev] We are getting very many telephone calls about the report that President Yeltsin has issued a decree dismissing Vice President Rutskoy and Vice Premier Shumeyko, because of the campaign and accusations associated with their names. They have been removed from their posts until an investigation is complete. We are being asked how lawful this is, and whether we have any

more details. Unfortunately, we have not so far managed to find out anything else. As soon as further reports come in we will inform you straightaway.

[Ivanova] In today's Parliamentary Hour television program, our journalistic colleagues will very probably return to this subject. They may be able to shed some light on it.

In continuation of our program, I wish to present yet another participant, Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev, Russian people's deputy and senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission. Oleg Germanovich, I have an unscheduled question for you. Could you comment on this report?

[Rumyantsev] I think our whole conversation is unscheduled. This question probably goes to the heart of the matter, because the new draft constitution is now ready. Nobody should—as advised by Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev [former chairman of the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution under Gorbachev]—regard himself as being exempt from certain principles of written law, ones which do not suit certain people. In this instance unfortunately, certain principles of written law, of the written constitution—which certain people do not care for—ones relating to the vice president, have been violated. These principles state that the president and vice president of the Russian Federation are elected on the same ticket. The vice president, like the president, can only be dismissed after a special procedure has been followed. So, his removal is to a certain extent a violation of the principle of people's power—the principle that the people are the source of state power, the principle of popular and free elections, in which the vice president of the Russian Federation was elected.

The president is entitled to withdraw certain powers from him, but that is another matter. If this were done, the president [as heard] could not exercise any powers, since it is the president's job, and nobody else's, to legitimize his position. But in dismissing the vice president, the president is acting a bit like the regional party committees of old. It is not very nice to hear of a resumption of this practice.

[Ivanova] Especially as the Supreme Soviet sought the removal of not just Shumeyko but also of Poltoranin, until such time as the investigation is complete. But we see that Poltoranin remains unaffected by this action. In other words, it is probably a bit difficult to say that some kind of objectivity forced the president's hand.

[Rumyantsev] There are so many questions at the moment about Poltoranin, Shumeyko, and other government officials, and absolutely no answers to them. I think their continued membership of the president's team, and the fact that he has not yet decided to dismiss them from their jobs, to a considerable extent undermines the vestiges of confidence which there were in the first popularly elected president of the Russian Federation. This is also disappointing. [passage omitted]

Deputy Assesses Legality of Decree

LD0109161393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 1 Sep 93

[by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep—The influential Russian deputy Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the recently disbanded parliamentary commission on legislation, has commented as follows on the temporary release from their duties of Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Government First Deputy Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko by President Boris Yeltsin.

"From the point of view of the existing constitution, one aspect has been defined in relations between the president and vice president, namely that the former invests the latter with powers to carry out certain instructions. It is the president who determines which instructions the vice president is to carry out.

"Another aspect: The problem of dismissal of the vice president from his post is resolved in the constitution. It is defined in Article 121/10, which indicates that the vice president is dismissed from his post in the same manner as the president.

"As for the problem of temporary release from duties, as in this case, then it is not resolved in constitutional legislation; it is a 'blank space' in the constitution. It is therefore difficult to interpret whether the president has violated the Basic Law or not; Boris Yeltsin has acted within limits not defined by the Constitution.

"At the same time, the concept of 'release from duties' does exist in Russian labor law, which unequivocally states that this can be done with regard to one or other official on the demand of the Procuracy or competent bodies until a certain set of problems has been resolved. In the case of the Procuracy, this means until the completion of the investigation into the matter.

"I think that if there is a recommendation in this case from the procurator general, then the problem of Vladimir Shumeyko can be fully resolved within the competence of the president. Moreover, it can be settled in this manner even without such a recommendation.

"As far as Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is concerned, there is a more complicated aspect here: It is of a constitutional nature. It should have been settled by the constitution but unfortunately we have a deficiency here. Evidently, using this deficiency, the president has settled this problem in the manner in which he has settled it."

Civic Union Protests Rutskoy's Suspension

LD0209091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—The "Civic Union" centrist bloc, which unites the People's Party of Free

Russia headed by the Russian vice-president, expressed "concern" over the decision of Boris Yeltsin to suspend Aleksandr Rutskoy from office.

In a statement issued Thursday [2 September] it said the decision is of an "unconsititutional character" and that the union intends to appeal against it in the Constitutional Court and in parliament.

Constitutional judge Ernest Ametistov told TASS that the court can consider the presidential decree upon a request of the parliament or on its own initiative in case it believes there are "unconstitutional actions" in the decree. He refused to give any comments.

But noted lawyer Mikhail Mityukov, who headed the disbanded parliamentary committee on legislation, said that acting Constitution says nothing about the suspension of the vice-president from office. "It's a blank spot in the Constitution", he added.

Mityukov believes that it is impossible to decide whether Yeltsin had violated the law because the president "acted in a framework not determined by the Constitution".

He added that the notion "removal from office" exists in Russian labour legislation which says that an official can be suspended from office upon a request of a prosecutor or other authorised bodies until the problem which triggered the request is solved.

Filatov Interviewed on Charges Against Shumeyko, Rutskoy

PM0109151193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, chairman of the President's Administration, by Nikolay Dolgopolov and Valeriy Simonov; place and date not given: "Our Interlocutor Is Intelligent and Mild-Mannered. But His Presence in the Kremlin Is Felt by Many. And How: Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov Is Now the Chief Kremlin Staffer"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Sergey Aleksandrovich, are you confident that the president (and you with him) will see out the term prescribed by the constitution?

[Filatov] Well, that is a trick question. If there is confidence does that mean there is desire? I associate the entire Russian reform process with our president. I am sure that we are in a position to complete economic reforms. And not to deviate from the path, because it is catastrophic to change horses in midstream. That is why the president must see out his term and get the reforms over the most dangerous obstacles. Understand that it is not a desire to hold on to power at any cost. It is a desire to extricate Russia from the crisis. The people understood it in precisely this way, if you recall the referendum results.

The first thing we must cope with is inflation. But in order to overcome it, agreement is needed in society. But the country is seething. It is precisely here that the opposition is aiming its blows. Last year Gaydar did not survive, we approached major inflation at the end of the year. This year the budget adopted by the Supreme Soviet is a powerful blow against reform.

Therefore the question should not be phrased: Will we see our term out or not. Everything is much more complex. The future's contours are now painted in two colors: either the socialist direction or the market route, naturally under state control. That is what must be understood!

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But does the president simply have enough physical strength and will to last until 1996?

[Filatov] Yes. Both strength and will.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Many doubts about this have been expressed in the press lately.

[Filatov] You know, I see not only a provocative tendency and the disinformation of public opinion in this talk. There is also some definite kind of dirty tricks here. We are dealing with a human being, after all. But there is a torrent of cock-and-bull stories about his health. He is not a monument but a living person, with a nervous system. Just think what it is like for him to read all this. That is why I used the words "dirty tricks."

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The opinion is now forming (it is evidently dictated by your closeness to Yeltsin) that you are the number two in the state hierarchy. In your opinion, is that right or not? Where would you place yourself in the rankings?

[Filatov] Very modestly. I think the number two is now Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, without a doubt. The premier is a very influential figure, and not only because of contacts with the president. Everybody in the state realizes this. And the fact that our government is now still occupying reformist positions is, of course, his greatest feat.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We want to ask you, slightly paraphrasing the chief theoretician and practician of Marxism-Leninism: What task does Yeltsin's team consider to be the top priority?

[Filatov] It seems to me that the adoption of a new constitution will be everybody's way out of the current situation. The existing constitution practically gives the opposition the opportunity to carry out a constitutional coup. Or, putting it more simply, to seize complete power. Hence the aggression and relentlessness in the opposition's mood. It is simply dying to utilize power to the utmost. Present times remind me somewhat of the Stalinist period, when the prosecutor's office—which utilized certain constitutional canons when discrediting people—was used in the struggle at the top.

It is no accident that the entire public, both in this country and the world, has noticed and worked out exactly that what is going on in Russia is not so much a struggle against corruption as a struggle for power. The existing constitution enables the opposition, aided by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, to block the executive branch's actions and seize complete power. The other day I familiarized myself with the constitutional amendments prepared by Isakov's commission. If they are

passed the government will be come under the control of the Supreme Soviet, which reserves the right to rescind not only the president's edicts but also all the government's decrees. And there can no longer be any talk of separation of powers.

I repeat: We are not afraid of losing power. We are fighting to retain the chance of guiding the reforms through. No opportunity to undo everything must be given.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Does it not seem to you that the fighting between the two teams and the scandalous mudslinging race is ruinous not for someone personally but for the entire power system in our country?

[Filatov] I agree with you. But you know, the lesser of two evils must be chosen. When we saw that the fight against corruption is in fact being used with a view to political blackmail, putting pressure on a number of people and discrediting them, this caused alarm. But when documents showing unequivocally that the corruption "fighters" are themselves involved in it started surfacing, the question of state security arose.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you believe that things have gone so far?

[Filatov] Yes, I think so. The shadow of a criminal state is quite perceptible now. But there is still a danger that a coup could be staged on the pretext of fighting corruption. Naturally, the following question arose: How and by whom can this threat be combated? After all, we are in a rule-of-law situation, not a totalitarian system. You will recall how things were decided previously: quietly, behind the scenes, in offices... You and I experienced all this, when many fairly high-ranking people disappeared from the political arena without any explanation.

Naturally, it is now necessary to link up with this public so that nobody dares to sweep these problems under the carpet.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Sergey Aleksandrovich, you yourself are saying that corruption has reached the very top, that it must be fought. In that case why is the Security Ministry leader removed from his post at virtually the most critical moment? The accusations against Barannikov were vague and muffled. Can a security minister really be removed because of his wife's faults? And is the minister's post not remaining vacant for too long?

[Filatov] I will begin at the end. When this item is published a minister will most likely already have been appointed. There is practically a decision already.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Can you give his surname?

[Filatov] No.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But do we know him?

[Filatov] Yes. But the decision might surprise you. That is all I can say at the moment.

Now, as regards Barannikov and rumors. There are reasons that made it impossible to publish everything that is now known. The president actually relieved him from his duties because violations of ethical norms were discovered. The security minister and his wife and the first deputy internal affairs minister and his wife were involved in a scandalous circle of people who achieved great notoriety. It is known that both spouses visited Switzerland at the invitation of the Seabeko firm. Both treated themselves to shopping to a very considerable sum. $300,000 each. Some shopping was also done in Moscow. Let us leave aside exclamations about morality. Let us pay attention to the fact that we are talking about links with precisely those firms and figures on which all the recent scandals have been concentrated. It is clear that Seabeko and Co. were looking for patronage from the most important statesmen. You will agree that suspicions were justified in this case. I realize that society needs clarity and I think that the time will come when all the facts will be published.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Is it true that the former security minister is under arrest?

[Filatov] No, he is still enjoying his rather long vacation. At the time he was issued a medical certificate. After his vacation the question of his future work will be decided.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Please permit us to ask whether Boris Nikolayevich really had a conversation with Vice Premier Shumeyko and recommended that he resign or give explanations concerning all the accusations against him? In addition to this our press and the somewhat dismayed U.S. press have written about Shumeyko's baby grandson, who has applied for U.S. citizenship according to his parents' wishes. This subject has been covered sufficiently, and we would not want to return to it again. This is the question: Is it not the case that the president's exactingness is demonstrated only toward members of the opposing team?

[Filatov] Am I to assume that you do not exclude Barannikov from the president's team? At any rate, the president did not exclude him. I think that you do not exclude Glazyev from this team either. As regards Shumeyko, I will tell you frankly. Children's food and equipment which apparently disappeared without trace figure here. But both the children's food and the equipment were already here, in Russia, and data about their absence appeared not without the participation of the General Prosecutor's Office. This was very suspicious: A determined reprisal against this man is going on. I assure you that had these facts been confirmed even preliminarily (they were checked by the Auditing Administration and government commissions) Shumeyko's fate would, I think, have been different.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But just imagine Baker's little grandson requesting Russian citizenship while his grandfather talks about a U.S. national revival as if nothing is going on...

[Filatov] As regards the grandson, it is hard for me to say here. I try my best not to to get involved in this kind of thing. We not longer have that old party system of supervising cadres, but Shumeyko himself must determine in the moral sense the extent to which the criticisms of him

correspond to the facts. There are things which a man decides according to his conscience. I received documents stating that his daughter had set up a consular affairs company in the United States. For a certain sum of dollars she apparently obtains visas, passports, and such like for people there. But literally the very first check carried out shattered these conjectures.

Generally it is necessary to investigate what lies behind the various accusations. Lately many exposes have been dictated by Khasbulatov's or Rutskoy's desire to remove a man from the political arena or at least to smear him.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In that case what exactly happened to Glazyev? He is unquestionably a man from the president's team. Then suddenly there is his angry letter to Boris Nikolayevich, extracts from which Vice President Rutskoy reads out with pleasure...

[Filatov] The Auditing Administration inspected the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and found a considerable number of serious shortcomings there. In terms of oil and metals, for example, and especially in the sphere of defense exports. The inspection started in April and ended recently. The question of relieving the minister of his post arose. Glazyev wrote a report to the president saying that he as minister had done much to "clean up" the ministry, impose order, and establish control over exports. He did indeed do a great deal, it cannot be denied. But the abuses that occurred are keenly felt by Russia and our economy. Although Glazyev was not personally involved in anything, the question of relieving him was seriously raised. We—the president, the premier, and I—hesitated and rechecked all the facts. The minister denied them but virtually 95 percent of them were confirmed. But there was an understanding with Glazyev that these questions would be finally considered in the Council of Ministers Presidium. Then Glazyev delivered that statement... His poor nerves seemingly gave way. I think that meetings with the opposition were not eschewed here. Glazyev suddenly decided to fly urgently from Moscow on a foreign official trip to the Republic of South Africa. A method that was not very honest either. Shumeyko, acting premier, turned his aircraft around.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Maybe it was still not worth going on these air maneuvers? Because some things here are reminiscent of excess.

[Filatov] To a considerable extent it was instigated by Glazyev.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Let us turn to a somewhat different but no less complex subject. We do not take it upon ourselves to judge who is right and who is guilty in the protracted dispute between the executive branch and the general prosecutor. But in any country with established democratic norms a prosecutor in a similar situation usually resigns. Even if, as is now the case with Stepankov, he does not consider himself guilty.

[Filatov] It is simply that he is needed by someone. I admit that he is afraid of resigning, he fears for his safety. The confrontation has now gone so far that many people are indeed already starting to think about personal safety. Although I have repeatedly stressed that during the time of Boris Nikolayevich's work there has not yet been a single case of repression being carried out against anybody. And it is not being contemplated either.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Why have the accusations against Rutskoy been passed to the Moscow and not the Russian Prosecutor's Office?

[Filatov] Because confidence in the Russian Prosecutor's Office has been lost. Generally I regard the current situation as extraordinary. Because the General Prosecutor's Office has already started to discredit people it does not like. Take the scandal over the search of Poltoranin's place. As far as I know, neither Shumeyko nor Poltoranin are refusing to be interviewed by the investigator. Or let us turn to the so-called Kharchenko affair. After Kharchenko had sent Yeltsin his letter I asked the general prosecutor to explain the progress of the case. The prosecutor gave me a detailed answer as to why Kharchenko is under arrest. At this point the court decides to ease the interdiction measure. So what does the Prosecutor's Office do? It reissues an arrest warrant. The same day! I asked the Supreme Court chairman: On what grounds has Kharchenko been rearrested? He said: The law permits it. Someone has to protect people. Or are we in 1937 again?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You worked with Khasbulatov. What is the reason for such hostility between the two teams? Ruslan Imranovich has repeatedly claimed that he is trying to pursue a bridge-building policy...

[Filatov] This kind of talk, to put it mildly..., does not correspond to the facts. I have already had many people from the Supreme Soviet in my office who have been dismissed only because they have offered me their hand. They include Stolyarov, his adviser; Karasev, deputy bodyguard chief, who was reproached for being too loyal to the democratic section of deputies; and Sasha Tyurin from the secretariat... They want to isolate the Administration and government. You are not aware of it but it is a fact that Supreme Soviet documents have stopped arriving at the Administration here. They have stopped allowing Presidential Administration staffers to enter the Supreme Soviet. Therefore even these minor details confirm that it is hard to believe in the speaker's sincerity.

It is maybe another matter that Khasbulatov very much wants to forge contact with the president personally. Well, that is probably so. But it is not so much this that is important as the forging of contacts with any executive branch structures. But at the moment those working in the Supreme Soviet are all so scared that they are even afraid to hand over any documents; they are afraid of reprisals.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But the impression is that the deputies' corps has closed ranks.

[Filatov] You know, it has not closed ranks. It is simply that all those who could create a different microclimate have been driven out of it. There are none of them. Our Supreme Soviet is currently organized according to the departmental principle. It has a big white chief who

allocates finances, bodyguards, vehicles, dachas, apartments... And even now job placements in the Supreme Soviet itself. Now one person after another is being forced out and the ones being edged out are those who are to some extent unsuitable or not totally loyal...

The departmental principle of organizing the Supreme Soviet has made deputies absolutely dependent figures. If you are obedient and show loyalty a quiet and comfortable life is guaranteed. If you do not, watch out!

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Let us try to shift the conversation to another plane—to the problem of our relations with Japan. Will the president's visit still go ahead? What is in store for the Kurils? How is Chernomyrdin's statement to be regarded?

[Filatov] The visit will take place. It is being prepared for sometime around October. Boris Nikolayevich said that this time the visit will not be postponed in any circumstances. And as regards the islands... You will recall that Boris Nikolayevich said that there are many options. But my position is that we should not talk about this subject today. That is the first point. Second, it seems to me that our potential for cooperation with Japan must be utilized to the maximum.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Sergey Aleksandrovich, problems are problems, but you seem quite optimistic. Do you believe that there are grounds for this?

[Filatov] There are grounds for cautious optimism. Of all the former USSR countries our economic conditions are still the best. Take the availability of goods. Yes, they are expensive. But the goods are available. They are not in Ukraine. Many people come here and are surprised by our store windows. Take the new ties that have been formed. Conversion processes are proceeding with difficulty, with great difficulty, but they are proceeding. We should not destroy this. Because in a flash we could find ourselves back at the level of 1991, when we we set about reform, when everybody was panicking: Will we survive for even two weeks? What we have now should be valued. Gradually, gradually, gradually... Every day is bound to bring something. Even now, look around, meat is supplied on a half-and-half basis: from industrial cooperative organizations and the private sector. Turnover is considerably higher in the private sector. Yesterday I was chatting to a sales assistant at the market and he said: Last year I sold two suckling pigs and this year I have already sold four...

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Well, Sergey Aleksandrovich, on this optimistic note—regarding the four suckling pigs—we propose to end the conversation. Thank you!

Barannikov Explains Reasons for Resignation

MK0109135493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 pp 1, 3

[Letter from Former Security Minister Viktor Barannikov to President Yeltsin under "Verbatim" rubric: "Viktor Barannikov Breaks His Silence. The Former Russian Security Minister Appraises the Political Situation in the Country's Leadership and Maintains that It Is Not the Security Ministry but the Defense Ministry that Is To Blame for the Tragedy on the Afghan-Tajik Border"]

[Text] Today we publish the text of a letter by former Russian Federation Security Minister Viktor Barannikov to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which has been placed at NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's disposal. As the reader will see, not only is the letter not of a private character but, on the contrary, it raises two major problems. The first one is much talked about—corruption. The second is hardly being talked about at all, although it worries specialists very much: Who should defend the borders of Russia and the CIS countries and how; who should control the border troops; and what are their functions.

Minister Barannikov has made very few public statements and has had practically no contacts with the press. He resigned in silence, without commenting on what happened in any way.

Today's publication provides an answer to some questions. In particular, unfortunately, it confirms the supposition about the deep disagreements within the present Russian leadership—moreover, on the most fundamental problems which must be definitely resolved (and necessarily by specialists), with any lineup of political forces and any form the political struggles assume, since these are in fact problems of national security.

Indeed, much is still unclear about V. Barannikov's resignation, and what is clear does little to comfort, and therefore the letter by the former Russian security minister to the president is undoubtedly a document worthy of publicity. Although, of course, it should not be ignored that such documents, even their copies, are not just lying around on the street. This is also a card in the political struggle. Yet it is better if it is opened than if it is used in a game in the dark when both rivals are bluffing, both are afraid, and out of fear make mistakes unsafe for the country.

To Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin.

Good day, Boris Nikolayevich.

I have been prompted to appeal to you by my human conscience, my civic position, and the honor of a Russian officer who has served his Motherland for more than 30 years.

I should like to stress from the start that this is not about myself or about my future fate. You have made your decision and as a military and law-abiding person I fulfilled it rigorously on the same day. I should like to note that in so doing I did not allow anyone to use my name for political speculation or intrigues. I resolutely cut short any attempts by the security officer corps to initiate "open letters" because I realize that such actions invariably do only one thing—they disorganize personnel and lower its combat ability and in the end destabilize the situation in society.

I am determined to adhere to this position in the future.

At the same time I feel obligated to share with you the acute concern that has built up in my soul—not so much over the period that followed my removal from office as during the entire extremely complicated time that I have served in the Russian Government, which has found itself today at the most dramatic turn in its history.

You know very well that I am a sufficiently informed person and I have never allowed myself to use the entire range of information that has been coming to the Russian Security Ministry (earlier, to the USSR and RSFSR Internal Affairs Ministry) for political, ambitious, or, moreover, selfish ends. To me, the sole consumer of that information was only the Russian leadership. This is why I did not consider it possible to have wider contacts with the press—in my understanding, any appraisals made by a security minister in one way or another acquire a political connotation.

I have never concealed anything from you, although I was aware that my reports were not always a source of positive emotions to you. But that could not be helped: You placed me in charge of a fairly "uncomfortable" [neudobnyy] department.

In any event, I could not have acted any differently or glossed over the obvious problems and the real situation in the country.

I knew that many people from your entourage have been using that equivocally, seeking to have you believe that "Barannikov is giving filtered, narrowly oriented information," and so forth.

Ultimately, it was they who precipitated my departure, as did the alienation from the president of a number of statesmen and political figures who believed in him. They defended and they are still defending only their selfish interests camouflaged as the interests of the Motherland but which actually have nothing to do with them. I am sure that History [capitalization as published] will undoubtedly pass a ruthless judgment on them. Only God forbid that they lead the Russian state to a final collapse.

I do not intend to enumerate the names and enter into open polemics with these people. You know very well who I am talking about and you know their true worth.

What is at stake is Russia's fate.

History, as is known, teaches us many things, and above all, the understanding that any confrontation goes against our Motherland. I am convinced that reforms— genuine, profound, large-scale reforms—are possible only in a society that is not being shaken by opposition between the authorities and social groups.

It was this that shaped my position with respect to the Security Ministry, which I have regarded and continue to regard not simply as a structural element but an informational foundation of the president, the government, and the representative branch. This is only possible under the condition of total noninterference by security bodies in politics—which I have been working towards from the very first day the Russian Federation Security Ministry was created. Given the controversial history of Russia's security bodies, I understood that this would not be easy to do.

I also understood, however, that without wide contacts with the public, with all the political trends it was impossible to do that in principle. Today many of those around you are presenting this as my "cunning" policy. In fact, what is involved here is an inevitable process that goes hand in hand with the consolidation of society, which for many years has regarded the ruling authorities with apprehension. An impulse of trust in it was simply vital.

Naturally, however, trust can only exist in real authority, not one that is being torn apart by contradictions. Aware of this and proceeding from past experience, we were forming not just a new state institution—the Russian Security Ministry, but a federal security system on which the president, the government, and parliament, as well as each individual citizen of Russia could rely in equal measure.

And you supported that concept.

Thanks to that, the border troops were returned to the structure of the Russian Federation Security Ministry since it was clearly absurd that the country's first echelon of security—the border—was cut off from its basic links—the counterintelligence service, subdivisions to fight terrorism, contraband, and economic crimes of a strategic character.

You and parliament provided substantial support for the formation of a legislative foundation for the activity of the Russian Federation Security Ministry and the border troops.

Under the conditions in which the border troops found themselves, this support enabled us to do what we have already succeeded in doing: to close Russia's new borders—in some places quite firmly and in some at least symbolically.

I should like to recall that only slightly more than a month ago, at a conference in the Russian Federation Security Ministry, you gave a fairly high appraisal of what had been done. Moreover, you told the personnel in no uncertain terms that the president values the ministry's performance and, incidentally, does not intend to change its leadership.

What, then, has happened during this month or so?

I am not inclined to believe that the cause of my dismissal was only the tragic incident on the Tajik-Afghan border.

This is my anguish. It is excruciating for me to think about what has happened there. It is not that the overhasty assessment of that tragedy offered to you, or rather the assessment of the actions by the border troops, is dubious. The border troops and state security forces did everything possible and carried out a comprehensive program worked out by the Security Council, accurately and within the shortest possible time frame. And you know this very well—more than just one or two documents were sent to you.

The border troops are battle-worthy but only in that form in which border troops must be battle-worthy. That enabled the servicemen to do what they did under unthinkable conditions.

Unfortunately, however, the Russian Defense Ministry failed to carry out the Security Council's decision since the attack on the border post was an action against the army while the 201st Division in fact failed to rebuff—no, not simple trespassers!—but an armed aggressor.

I am defending not myself but the honor of the border troops, the honor of the heroes who laid down their lives.

Neither do I think that the cause of my removal was the dirty intrigue ultimately expressed in the phrase "violation of ethical norms."

Being a professional, I prefer to speak only the language of the law. I recognize only its supremacy—whether some might like it or not. This is why I do not intend to comment on rumors, speculation, and gossip.

Yes, Boris Nikolayevich, I assume that it was not the above-mentioned reasons that served as grounds for your decision.

I venture to say that everything is far simpler and more complicated at the same time—everything lies on the plane of politics and, sad as it might be, on palace intrigues.

The information in my possession suggests that the mechanism for my removal was set in motion back last fall and maybe even a little earlier.

Who did Barannikov bother?

In my opinion, the following forces were at work here.

First, the "ultra-radicals" who were expecting from the Security Ministry unequivocal support for their policy aimed at "decisive actions." I put them first based on the extent of their influence on the country's leadership.

Second, the "official mafia-style" structures that have substantial political cover and were not happy with the Russian Federation Security Ministry since it began consistently to put up barriers in the way of their fabulous enrichment and the robbing of the people. You will remember the results of our "Trawl" operation when the scope of that robbery became visible. They could not forgive me that, just as in my statement at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies where I exposed just one situation that had developed in the area of mineral fertilizer trade, when in circumvention of your edict, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations granted the right to conduct foreign trade operations to various companies and firms where a number of persons were arrested.

You know my credo: not to make public any information until a court decision has been made. Only you and professionals from the Security Ministry knew about the numerous negative processes in the crime-ridden economy. But the time came when it was no longer possible to keep silent. The very first public strike against mafia-style deals frightened those who have their lobbies in political circles.

The Russian Federation Security Ministry was becoming a serious threat to them. In a certain sense, a deadly threat.

By last December the plan to remove me was already prepared.

I continued, however, to brief the country's leadership on the entire spectrum of these problems—without keeping back or filtering any information.

Third, those who simply do not need the existence of a strong federal state security system in Russia. All methods were used here—from discrediting particular Russian Security Ministry officials to organizing "international" conferences. The formation of the Russian Federation Security Ministry proceeded openly, publicly. We made no secret of our concepts and doctrine. And that was frightening—this openness and the consistent development of a system that had nothing to do with political surveillance, working professionally, in accordance with the law.

Russia has more than a few foes—and it is no accident that around our Motherland, including on the territory of the former fraternal countries and republics of the former Union, western secret services are conducting covert operations following carefully elaborated plans, "getting rid of the KGB influence," creating "Russian departments" within their own special services.

Over a brief time span the Russian counterintelligence service, having recovered after numerous reorganizations, neutralized a serious spy network that could have caused irreparable damage to the country's defense interests.

A whole complex of political combinations by representatives of foreign special services resulted in a situation where actions on Russia's territory began to be taken to assess the performance of the Russian special services.

I did not consider it fitting to turn to you for moral support at that period, when for 1.5 years bucketfuls of mud were being poured on the Russian Federation Security Ministry and on myself personally. Today I have the right to do this. You, the president, are obligated to defend the ministry and its honest officers from the tough pressure originating, believe me, not only from the memory of those who suffered at the hands of state security bodies but primarily from places where our Motherland it not treated with great sympathy, to put it mildly.

Separated at first, superficial glance, these forces are intrinsically capable of pooling their efforts when it comes to strategic political provocations.

Alas, this it what has also happened this time.

Who is masterminding the action directed not only against myself personally but also against Russia's state security interests?

Here is my answer: Those who are bringing elements of impatience and confrontation to our society, covering up with pompous pseudodemocratic phrases clear-cut political and increasingly selfish interests, about which I have repeatedly informed you.

Believe me, in pursuing these interests, they will also betray you. Some are already betraying and have even betrayed you, distancing themselves from you as president and man.

It is agonizing to have to see this since in their intrigues they are playing out not simply a political card but the interests of Russia.

I am the last minister, or rather former minister from the government that you formed and on which the Russian people pinned so many hopes. Maybe there is a certain logic, a certain finality in the fact that the last to be dismissed was the security minister who has been with the president from the outset and thought that he would go with him to the end.

It must be that the entourage that deals neither with economics nor defense and that apparently cannot do anything except indulge in political intrigues, has turned out to be stronger and more cunning than the professionals.

Well, time will put everything in its place.

Although this is small consolation since it will be the people who will have to pay for all this.

I consider it my duty to tell you all this without counting on any sympathy for my personal fate since it has long been not in your hands but in the hands of those persons from your entourage who are pushing you and the Russian people towards the extreme.

Respectfully yours,

[Signed] Army General V. Barannikov
[Dated] 23 August 1993

Likely Security Minister Profiled

MK0109142793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Pavel Koltsov report: "Who Will It Be, After All?! President Yeltsin Is About To Name The Man Whom He Sees as Security Minister"]

[Excerpts] It is well known that President Yeltsin has promised to present his nominee for the post of Russian security minister to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by the end of August for appointment. Following Viktor Barannikov's resignation, there has been no lack of forecasts as to his successor. [passage omitted]

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned from two separate trustworthy sources that Boris Yeltsin has opted for the general director of the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information.

Aleksandr Vladimirovich Starovoytov is 52 years old. In 1962, he graduated from the Penza Polytechnical Institute. Between 1965 and 1986 he worked at industrial enterprises in Penza, including as general director of "Kristall" scientific and production association, the industry's chief designer and producer of special-purpose communication equipment. At the same time he was a teacher at the Penza Polytechnical Institute. In 1986, he was appointed deputy chief of the government communications administration in the USSR KGB, where he supervised equipment-related matters. In 1990 he defended his doctoral dissertation. In 1991 he was elected full member of the Academy of Engineering Sciences for his scientific and production achievements. In that same year he was appointed chairman of the Government Communications Committee subordinated to the USSR president. In December 1991 he became head of the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information subordinated to the Russian president. Since 1992, he has been a full member of the Russian Federation Academy of Cryptography. Starovoytov is married, and has one son.

Yeltsin Appoints Head of Committee for Development of North

LD0209094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep—Boris Yeltsin signed a decree today appointing Vladimir Kuramin as chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Socioeconomic Development of the North. This was reported by the Russian president's press service.

Yeltsin Amendments to State Secrets Law Viewed

MK0109141093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 36, 5 Sep 93 (signed to press 31 Aug) p A10

[Natalya Gevorkyan report under the "Underlying Reason" rubric: "Yeltsin Did Not Endorse Law on State Secrets"]

[Text] ".... I am forwarding for a repeat examination the Russian Federation law 'On State Secrets.' The law should be substantially recast because it does not protect the rights of citizens who have access or had access to state secrets. B. Yeltsin."

It looks like the president's returning of the text of the law (that already passed the second reading) with his amendments and remarks came as a surprise even for Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the State Legal Department. At any rate, your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent learned from sources in the Supreme Soviet that Kotenkov spoke against the president's amendments during a closed- door session of the Supreme Soviet Security Committee on 26 August, which makes the situation less than ordinary. The opinions of those attending the session were divided: some shared Kotenkov's view, that the law is good as it is; others thought the president's remarks logical, and that the law should be recast. The committee will continue discussion of this matter this coming Friday, 3 September.

A few words on Yeltsin's remarks. The adopted Law on State Secrets devotes several lines to citizens' rights that mainly deal with limiting these rights: the rights to leave the country, to disseminate information that constitutes a

state secret, and on the inviolability of privacy when one is being cleared for secret work or access to secret documents. Presidential amendments substantially alter this article of the law.

For example, they call for the right of a citizen to request and receive information about himself regardless of the degree of secrecy if this information affects his rights, duties, and legitimate interests. The request can be in oral or written form, and the holder of such information has no right to deny it to the citizen. A reply should be motivated; that is, there should be an explanation of the grounds on which a person with access to a state secret has his rights curtailed. The specified term within which such information should be provided is between one and three months. The amendments also provide that a person being considered for a job connected with state secrets gives information about himself on a voluntary basis. Checking up on this information is done on his written consent. Each person working in a classified sphere has the right to legal protection if illegal restrictions are imposed on him or he is denied information on the restrictions affecting him.

It is hard to say at this stage if the Supreme Soviet agrees with the president's amendments, which are clearly appropriate from the point of view of common sense and protection of human rights. Incidentally, these amendments directly bear on the deputies. Some deputies have access to information constituting state secrets. In order to forestall an unmotivated rejection of their request to go abroad after their term as deputy has come to an end, it is worthwhile treating seriously the president's remarks that protect their rights too.

Former KGB School Opens School Year 1 Sep

LD0109141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1235 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By KRIM-PRESS correspondent Olga Semenova for TASS]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The Academy of the Russian Security Ministry (former top secret supreme KGB school) marked the beginning of a new school year on Wednesday [1 September] by an open-door meeting.

Deputy Security Minister Vasily Frolov told those present that the academy is changing its curriculum and re-writing manuals as the whole concept of security has changed.

Students of the academy will not experience the same problems as their colleagues do in civilian institutes which drastically lack finances. "We have to save money, but not on training the personnel so necessary for us", Frolov said.

Economic Affairs

Finance Ministry Examines Inflation

LD0109161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Suldin]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Despite grim predictions, the Russian rouble remains stable and is likely to hold till the end of the year at the early June level (1,110 roubles for one U.S. dollar), provided the government continues the policy of financial stabilisation, according to a press release of the Russian Finance Ministry issued on Wednesday [1 September].

The press release said that the main factors that fueled inflation in August (up to 25-30 per cent) were the exchange of old banknotes which caused an inflow of several hundred billion roubles to Russia from other CIS republics, an increase in fuel and energy prices and transportation tariffs, as well as the easing of credit policy during the harvesting period.

The credit and monetary policy of the Central Bank of Russia remained moderately tough, although the bank's 170 per cent rate of centralised refinancing used for 6-12 month credits remains the lowest and can be considered as privileged.

"An alternative to the firm financial policy is the devastating budget of the Supreme Soviet, an outburst of inflation, sharp decline of the rouble and the financial catastrophe which will affect all and everyone of us," the document said.

Shumeyko Comments on Inflation Figures

LD0109123493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1050 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, the first Russian deputy premier [as received], believes the issue of the rouble is one of the cardinal issues of the upcoming summit of the CIS to be held on September 7.

Speaking on Wednesday [1 September] at a traditional round-table conference, Shumeyko said that in formalising relations between countries of the Commonwealth it is very important to know which countries in the CIS will retain the rouble as their currency.

Shumeyko said that at the summit there will apparently be proposals to form a number of financial and industrial corporations linking republics of the former Union at producer level.

Regarding the inflation rate in August, Shumeyko said that at preliminary estimates it reached 25-26 per cent and may even rise to 30 per cent. Shumeyko believes that this resulted from the introduction of free prices on coal and free tariffs on electricity. He believes that a negative role was played by the money exchange. Without yielding any economic effect, it led to the fact that about one thousand billion roubles in old banknotes were brought into Russia.

"If it were not for that, it would have been possible to keep the inflation rate at 15-17 per cent", Shumeyko said. He said the government is still striving to ensure that the inflation rate is around 5-7 per cent by the end of the year.

Shumeyko also said that effective measures to increase the revenues under the budget were outlined at a closed-door meeting of the government presidium last Thursday. However, "far from all these measures are popular", he added.

The first deputy premier said the protocol of the round-table meeting will result in the issuing of three documents: a government resolution, a presidential decree, and a letter to the parliament with a legislative initiative to increase the revenue part of the budget and decrease expenditures under the budget.

Possibility of Hyperinflation Assessed

PM0109165793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 93 First Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Bekker report: "Unrestricted Money Handouts Make Budget 'Useless'"]

[Text] The "enlarged " Council of Ministers session 6 August and Viktor Chernomyrdin's firm statement that "we will not go back on the reforms" brought a sigh of relief from the president's supporters. The advocates of an open economy were even more reassured by the government's draft working program for the period 1993-1995. In it the Cabinet of Ministers focused current policy on "establishing control over inflation and financial stabilization." The fall, with its rich harvest, has also brought calm to society—we will have bread, we will not be lost. Nor is the population extremely oppressed by the monotonous price increases: It has gotten dangerously accustomed to inflation, almost like a drug.

However, inflation, which has been brought down to 20 percent for four months now, is not a sign of stability but a risk factor. The country's budget is overstretched and cannot withstand being tested to the breaking point. State grain procurements at a price in excess of the exchange price and the upward indexing of these prices from month to month will have an extremely bad effect on it. That system would require 2.7 trillion rubles [R]. That will in turn raise the cost of mixed feed and, in order not to ruin livestock farming, the government will have to invest at least another R1-1.2 trillion rubles in subsidies and procurements.

On the pretext that the coffers are empty, funding of the Arctic shipping season has been given, so to speak, in limited doses. But shipments of food, fuel, and semimanufactures cannot be delayed any longer and shortly R400-500 billion may be needed. Dozha... [meaning unknown]. Then the Finance Ministry comes up with R700 billion in preferential credits for investment and conversion projects. But the ministry's downfall lies not in the fact that it opened the monetary flood gates but in its inability to get the kind of plan from commercial banks and enterprises that would have guaranteed the effective use and return of the capital.

The miners will cause the budget considerable trouble. The parliament's refusal to introduce a 7-percent tax to support key sectors will force the government to subsidize coal extraction to the tune of R2.1 trillion—that is the paradox of price liberalization in Russia.

The combination of the above expenditure for the government may break the "thread" of relative financial stability and appreciably speed up the price surge. If these factors should resonate with some unforeseen but emergent expenditure, the budget will cave in by the end of the year and hyperinflation will be not a monetarist's frightening fairy tale but a bleak reality.

The tax service is only now gaining momentum and is not yet able to collect in 93-95 percent of the planned taxes as they do in the West. By the strictest criteria the tens of billions of rubles extracted by the tax police do not count—it is only just getting to its feet. Moreover, both services are powerless when Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Sakha-Yakutia fail to pay over R250 billion in taxes into the federal budget. Maritime Kray followed their lead and pulled the plug 14 August. An epidemic of single-tier taxation will split Russia more surely than any political declarations of sovereignty. It was this, I think, rather than the Far East workers' strike per se that made Viktor Chernomyrdin spend almost a week touring the kray.

At first glance, everything is in order: The government reacted, no local conflict flared up, the region is receiving funds for living. But no fires are put out for free.

According to Soviet tradition, the travels by the top men were accompanied by "gifts": Bricks would be handed out and the ceiling on capital investment dealt with. Today such gifts can only be made by budget allocation or enlarging the deficit. The danger of such trips for the premier is that the specific situation is perceived by ear, emotionally, and strategic goals are forgotten. Selective policy is giving way to reflexive policy: We would like to help the people without moving from the spot. When Vice Premier Oleg Lobov appeals in Rostov for people to come down to earth from the theoretical heights and work at the microlevel, this means that they want to amend the government's working program and it is necessary to "hang fire" on financial stabilization. Oleg Soskovets' and Aleksandr Zaveryukha's trip to the Far East and Oleg Lobov's tour of four cities in central Russia can be seen as a signal to begin sectoral pressure on the 6 August Cabinet of Minister' avowed priority of beating inflation.

In this connection I remember Vice Premier Fedorov's recent ideological clash with Vice Premier Zaveryukha. The former reproached the latter with "deliberately trying to bring down the state's financial policy and constantly pushing economically unfounded decisions through the government." The agrarian leader gave a clear and concise response: "My conviction...remains unchanged: We will provide subsidies." In this context the government's clashes with the parliament, strange as it may seem, are secondary. The clashes within the government itself will determine over the next few weeks where the pendulum of inflation will swing.

Yeltsin Confers With Officials on Harvesting

LD0109151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1457 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin met with Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Aleksandr Zaveryukha and Minister of Agriculture Viktor Khlystun in the Kremlin today, the president's press service reported.

During the meeting they analyzed the state of harvesting, the formation of the federal and regional food foundations. Special attention was paid to the economic condition of rural manufacturers and measures for their financial support by the state.

A draft decree of the Russian president envisaging streamlining payments to rural manufacturers for their products and food were among other issues on the agenda.

Fate of Foreign Banks Viewed

LD0109135793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] When the Russian president vetoed the amendments passed by parliament to the laws on the Central Bank and on banking activity, there was a festive atmosphere among some bankers while among others tense anticipation descended. What laws are going to regulate banking activity henceforth? Which side will win, the president's or parliament's?

[Unidentified correspondent] Attention all foreign banks and also joint banks that have been formed with the participation of foreign capital: You know, of course, that parliament has prohibited you from working in rubles with Russian residents beginning 1 January 1994. Without doubt such restrictions have appeared at the insistence of certain circles of Russian bankers. Powerful foreign competitors, who are more refined and wealthy, threaten their interests on the Russian financial market.

In the view of such bankers, the majority of prestigious, major and well-off enterprises, firms, and possibly whole sectors will immediately prefer the cash and settlement services of, say, the German Dresdner Bank and the French Credit Lyonnais. Capital will circulate through affiliated foreign banks. The big fish will swim into their nets while the small fry will be left for the Russian commercial banks. From this point of view, parliament is right in implementing a protectionist policy of developing national banks. However, some Russian bankers and entrepreneurs counting on foreign investment have a different point of view.

[Valeriy Skripchenko, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Commission on the Budget, Taxes, Prices, and Banks] To distrust foreign banks and yet to invite investment here is simply idiotic to anyone who understands even just a little in this matter. It's a case of hand-over-your-money, but because you're a scoundrel, I'm not going to let you in. I have very considerable confidence that we will remove this discriminatory amendment and that we will try not to take backward steps like this.

[Correspondent] On Friday the fate of foreign investments and banks in Russia will finally be decided. There will be a third reading in parliament. If the result is not in your favor, Messrs. foreigners, then we propose one option with which you will be able to work with Russian residents. You can purchase this right from a Russian bank along with the controlling block of its shares. A joint bank such as this will not be affected by the terms of the restrictions. One has to assume that this option will not be a cheap one for you because Russian banks will be selling its shares at a fitting price.

[Announcer] The Central Bank is not yet in any haste to react to the law-making activity of deputies. It is continuing to issue general licenses to foreign affiliated banks. This could demonstrate that the leadership of the Bank of Russia is confident that the new laws will be doomed in parliament on Friday. However, we are not going to guess and will wait until the end of the week.

Decision To Retain Small-Denomination Notes Welcomed

PM0109151793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 2

[Petr Karapetyan report: "Soviet Rubles Once Again in Demand—The Central Bank of Russia, It Seems, Has Made a Rod for Its Own Back"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia is leaving old 1-, 3-, 5-, and 10-ruble denomination bank notes in circulation until the end of 1998. Commercial organizations have been given very strict instructions to accept these bank notes.

Yippee! If only because now candy, a quarter-pound loaf of bread, plastic bags, and so on will go out of circulation in their capacity as small change.

Of course, being wise after the event (which is what the Central Bank has been) wins few laurels. But, having had our emotions fired, let us find solace in the hope that after admitting, albeit indirectly, its error regarding the chaotic withdrawal of old bank notes, the Central Bank will henceforth act in line with the norms accepted in civilized society.

Civic Union Blames Fedorov, Chubays, Shakhray for Economy

PM0109111993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "'Three Heroes' of the Russian Economy"]

[Text] "Civic Union" is predicting major difficulties for the Russian economy in September-October this year.

Members of the "Civic Union" Political and Economic Council have held a press conference on the problems of

the Russian economy. At the press conference the economist Iosif Diskin stated that everything he had predicted a year ago had "come to pass very exactly" and that "the Russian economy is successfully sliding into the abyss." He also stressed that, in the opinion of "Civic Union," the main culprits for our economic plight are Deputy Prime Ministers B. Fedorov, A. Chubays, and S. Shakhray.

Supreme Soviet

Legislators Back Yeltsin's Defense Industry Committee Idea

MK3108140093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 2

[Nikolay Podlipskiy report: "Supreme Soviet Presidium Session. One State Committee To Replace Nine Ministries of Former USSR"]

[Excerpts] Russian political practice knows of sufficiently rare examples of unanimity in the executive and legislative branches. There is, however, virtually no difference between the government and parliament on reorganizing the committee for defense industry sectors. This was borne out by the outcome of the Supreme Soviet Presidium session that ended late Friday evening in which the parliamentarians approved the president's proposal to transform this agency into a State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry. The absence of contradictions in the positions of the irreconcilable opposition is, however, not surprising—the need to regain manageability of the sector's enterprises is recognized by everyone, and tough administrative control over the state sector of the military-industrial complex is acknowledged as virtually the only method to preserve it. [passage omitted]

Thus, the Supreme Soviet Presidium's approval of the president's proposal to elevate the status of the committee for the defense sectors of industry to that of state status appears rather logical in light of the other president's document—the edict on the peculiarities of privatizing military-industrial complex enterprises. In addition to the fact that this edict unblocked to a certain extent the denationalization of defense enterprises, it in fact has prepared grounds for the activities of the nascent state committee by imposing a direct ban on privatizing part of the enterprises. Thereby the edict eliminated the fears in some defense industry directors about the new system's being ineffective right from the start due to an artificial curtailment of the committee's competence owing to the traditional rivalry of government organs in dividing powers.

If there is a positive decision by the Supreme Soviet, one would be able to speak of the completion of the process of forming an independent defense sector on a Russia-wide scale, the elements of whose control are reminiscent of the structure that existed in the former USSR with one exception—the role of the defense "nine" will have to be played by one member of the government presidium—the chairman of the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry.

Commission Chair Hits 'Antisocial' Budget

PM0209093193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Commission for Social Policy, by Viktor Shiyatov of the Supreme Soviet Press Service; place and date not given: "Mikhail Zakhorov: We Have Rich Citizens. But Where Is the Rich Country?"]

[Text] As we know, the Russian Federation president has vetoed the Supreme Soviet-adjusted 1993 budget. The second examination of the law expected in parliament today could, in the opinion of several observers, end in the convocation of an extraordinary Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies for the purpose of impeachment.

So we face yet another twist in the spiral of confrontation between the organs of power. But our conversation with Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Commission for Social Policy, began elsewhere.

[Shiyatov] Mikhail Lvovich, the Supreme Soviet is effectively the sole author of the Federal Budget Law for 1993. Not only have significant modifications been made (more than 400 amendments) to the government's version of the draft budget—the very concept of the budget's formation has been subjected to revision.

[Zakhorov] I honestly admit that I was simply astounded by the proposals which the government made in adjusting the budget. Essentially, what we were offered was an antisocial budget. It was proposed to carry out spending reductions mainly at the expense of the social sphere.

[Shiyatov] Remind us briefly what proposals the government submitted.

[Zakhorov] First, it was proposed to reduce money coming into the pension fund, from which pensions are paid to approximately 35 million of our compatriots. It was proposed to lower the pension fund tariff from 28 to 21.6 percent. In the event that the Supreme Soviet had adopted this decision, it would have been virtually impossible to carry out the indexation of all pension payments.

The Supreme Soviet rejected this proposal. Let me remark that it was certainly not made in order to leave the difference of 6.4 percent that would have resulted from reducing payments to the pension fund at the disposal of, let us suppose, enterprises—from which, of course, their profits and so forth would have increased. The proposal to reduce payments to the pension fund had a quite different aim: to introduce a new tax and increase budget revenues; that sort of thing. You probably recall that the government submitted a proposal for a tax to support agriculture, the coal industry, and several other sectors.

Second, roughly the same proposal was submitted with regard to the social insurance fund, from which various forms of subsidies are paid: to the sick, and to women during pregnancy and childbirth and once a child is born...

It was proposed to reduce this fund by 20 percent. The Supreme Soviet did not accept this proposal either.

We managed to index pension payments. This will be effective from as early as 1 August. As a result pensions will increase by a factor of 1.8. And this is by no means a gift to pensioners, but only compensation for the losses which they have already borne on their shoulders a consequence of the growth of commodity prices.

[Shiyatov] If you try to express the statistics you cite in physical terms, how will the "consumer basket" of socially vulnerable strata of the population look at the end of the year?

[Zakhorov] The range of goods which go into the "consumer basket" is a fixed magnitude and will remain the same at the end of the year. However, the cost of the "basket" at face value will rise considerably. According to forecasts, prices will rise 10- to 12-fold in the current year.

[Shiyatov] But there is another point of view. On radio recently current affairs writer Vasiliy Selyunin put forward the idea that parliament is artificially dramatizing the socioeconomic situation around government economic policy. The position for Russians may not be easy, he says, but the peak of the difficulties is behind us: We experienced that back in January 1992 following the wholesale increase of prices by Yegor Gaydar's government. You, however, give a directly opposite assessment. In this respect the question is: To what extent is parliament taking account of the population's "limit of social tolerance" and subsistence minimum?

[Zakhorov] Undoubtedly, indicators such as the "subsistence minimum" and the "limits of social tolerance" are important. However, in our country, so far they do not "operate," if you look at things soberly. We even avoid establishing such indicators. Though a decision was, in fact, adopted on the need to prepare a law on the subsistence minimum, supposed to become the starting basis on which to elaborate minimum labor wages, minimum pensions, and other kinds of social support for the population.

As for the "borders of national tolerance," then... I am simply amazed how great the people's tolerance is. But most astounding of all is the political choice being imposed on society today—are you for reforms or against them? Yes, everyone is for reforms! Everyone, on the whole, is for human life. I think that no one wants to return to the bog in which we were stuck for so long. Though, by comparison with what has happened now, it was not such a bog... Everyone wants just one thing: while moving toward the blissful goal, not to make crude blunders or mistakes...

Let me cite just a few examples of actions taken by the authorities which no sensible person would have taken. Take the episode over the introduction of free trade. A completely unprepared measure. This freedom in reality ended up fettering enterprise and promoting rampant speculation. Thanks to this measure several hundred billion rubles were extracted from the pockets of ordinary people in the most blatant way.

[Shiyatov] In what way?

[Zakhorov] Where has the money generated gone? Into the state's revenues? No, into the pockets of stall-holders. You get the impression that, in carrying out this action, the president and the government were pursuing one goal—to create a stratum of rich people in Russia at any price. But that is not reform! Such a measure should have been prepared for at least 18 months-two years. And, as a result of this haste, speculators avoided taxes. The state gained nothing, and our compatriots found themselves ruined.

Another example of the government's actions—the loss to the country of 25 percent of its GNP, which goes to the states of the CIS, and we rack our brains over where we can can get the money to increase pensions and the minimum labor wage in order to ease our compatriots' existence... Or take the flight abroad of capital earned at home and abroad. Exports of goods and hard currency payments, shipped abroad never to return, run into billions of dollars or trillions of rubles.

[Shiyatov] The recent All-Russia Economic Conference singled out especially the topic of economic and social management efficiency. What new approaches, in your view, did it project in the sphere of social policy?

[Zakhorov] I believe that the conference was a success. I felt the alarm of the overwhelming majority, of virtually all participants in the conference, over the current state of affairs in the country. At the same time I am astounded that the government and the presidential structures effectively ignored this conference. Even though it was prepared as a forum which would suggest ways of overcoming the crisis. Indeed, many constructive suggestions were made concerning the concrete solution of both particular and general problems of our development. However, without the organs of executive power, without the presidential structures, it will hardly be possible to successfully implement much of what was proposed.

On the other hand the conference showed that the policy being carried out today needs to be seriously modified. It must not go any further. If we continue to follow it, without subjecting some of its provisions to serious modification, in the final analysis we will cross over that boundary of social toleration.

[Shiyatov] What in your view are the prospects for implementing the budget adopted by the Supreme Soviet, bearing in mind that Finance Minister Fedorov refuses to execute the budget law adopted by the government and the president has vetoed it anyway?

[Zakhorov] A minister should not behave like that. He should either execute the law, or cease to be a minister and resign. It must be said that the behavior of Minister Federov in the government is extremely strange.

I have been wondering in recent times: Do we actually have a government at all? It adopts a decision, and suddenly we find out that one of its members—let us suppose, a deputy chairman—does not agree with something and therefore does not consider himself obliged to fulfill the decision adopted.

Accepted rules of behavior exist. In the event of disagreement, everyone is entitled to state his point of view, but if the decision is adopted all the same, you are obliged either to fulfill it irreproachably, or to say that you are leaving the government, but it is impermissible to destabilize its work.

As for the president's veto, it will be examined by the Supreme Soviet. I do not think that our parliamentarians will agree to an antisocial budget.

[Shiyatov] How is the budget process developing in our country in general? In particular, how are the relationships among its main participants structured—parliament, the government, the trade unions, and entrepreneurs?

[Zakhorov] This question would be better asked of leaders of the parliamentary commission for budgets, plans, taxes, and prices. I will make just one comment: We are probably the only country in the world not to have a plan. Other countries set themselves goals for some period or other and plot ways of moving toward it. We, however, have proved to be a country which has no forward planning. Even for a month, or two or three, and as for a year—definitely not. In other words, from extreme planning we have slid toward the loss of guidelines; we live just for the day, and hence we lose out.

Regional Affairs

Roundup of Regions Discussing Constitution

PM3108120793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 93 p 2

[Roundup of correspondents' reports under the general heading: "Founding Fathers' Work in Vain. Why the Constitutional Process Started by the President's Men Is in Difficulties"]

[Text] The presidential team's diversionary maneuver of forcing the people to wrangle over the Constitution instead of seeing to what is most important, has, you can say, fizzled out. The empty words "on human rights" uttered from lofty podiums are doing nothing to improve our lot. The series of failures in the economy, our dependence on the West's financial Mr. Bigs as far as foreign policy is concerned, the complete corruption in the corridors of power, the spiral of prices and the epidemic of crime, the blood and suffering in the "hot" spots...are plain for everyone to see and hear.

It is not surprising that the appeal to the "ordinary folk" to discuss Yeltsin's draft Constitution before 6 August did not engender any enthusiasm to come up with anything.

Stavropol [by Viktor Pankratov]—The kray conference of people's deputies representing soviets at all levels, has examined the question "On the Constitutional Process in the Russian Federation." The conference participants advocated a sound, considered, and scrupulous approach to composing the Fundamental Law which should never be constructed in terrible haste. This is a long-term project. Haste, rushing things will not have a good effect. As the deputies said, this is why the existing drafts of the Fundamental Law, including that approved by the Constitutional Conference, are in need of further work.

They will not in any way accept a policy to abolish the soviets of people's deputies and consider that it is inadmissible for the Constitution to enshrine legal provisions which upset the balance between the existing branches of power and give the president and his apparatus an opportunity to interfere in legislation and the carrying out of court business.

We need a single draft of the Fundamental Law which includes not only similar provisions from the alternative versions, but also differences in matters of principle which the Congress of People's Deputies could assess on their merits. It is the Congress which has the right to make the final decision, having taken into consideration the positions of the Supreme Soviet, the president, the government, and the federation's components.

Bryansk [by Anatoliy Grachev]—The draft Constitution of the president and his men was sent around all the oblast's rayons a long time ago. It did not whip up any enthusiasm. There have been no reactions or discussions in its wake. It is as if the Kremlin brains had not carried out this "mammoth" task at all. What is the matter? I put this question to V. Lavrenov, first deputy chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

"Let us go through the text together," Vladimir Ivanovich suggested. "Take, for example, the first chapter 'The Fundamentals of the Constitutional System.' There is nothing new here; everything has been taken from the current Constitution: the people as bearer of sovereignty, the separation of powers—including by decentralization, and the republican form of government... On the other hand everything about the soviets, the people's deputies, and representative power has been thrown out. Nothing has been said about accountability of the organs of power and officials to the people. What has become of the workers' collectives, trade unions, and other public associations in the draft? One of the institutions which is most important and closest to the people—that of local self-goverment—has disappeared. There is no trace of the Federation Treaty Protocol which the federation representatives and its 57 components, including our oblast, signed.

"There is no chapter in the draft on the state's economic system. The thesis that citizens' property is based on labor has been excluded. So, does it emerge that he who so wishes can thieve and grow rich in whatever way he can?

"The document contains no broadening of human rights and freedoms. But, citizens' rights to equal access to the civil service and to appeal to the state organs and the latter's obligation to respond to them, has been removed. The draft also does not contain a single word about responsibility for carrying out what are clearly criminal orders.

"What else is there here? Just look at the long list. The president is the sole guarantor of rights and freedoms,

takes measures to protect the Russian Federation's sovereignty, determines its internal and foreign policy, presents, appoints, and dismisses high-ranking officials, calls elections to the federal assembly, dissolves the State Duma, and so on and so forth. What is this if not the usurpation of power by one person?

"The reference to interference by parliament is reminiscent of the saying about the bad dancer. The president does not have any overall program. Should we continue to dance to the tune of the Western 'benefactors?' We have already satisfied ourselves as to the ruinous nature of this path. The proposed draft will only give strength to this course. So do we need such a Constitution? Of course we do not. This is why the population of the Bryansk region will not adopt it."

Smolensk [by Viktor Artemenko]—Here they were in no hurry to discuss Yeltsin's draft Constitution at an oblast soviet session, in spite of the fact that the president had asked them to express an opinion on the results of the Constitutional Conference's work before 6 August. The debate at the Inner Soviet on the expediency of calling the session did not go smoothly. In the end it was decided that it is wrong to spur on the horses, but that it was not worth deviating from the constitutional process. It is necessary to organize a serious discussion of all the published drafts in the oblast and not just that of the president.

On the eve of the session, on the initiative of the local organizations of the Russian Communist Workers Party and the Russian Federation Communist Party, a meeting of Smolensk's workers was held in support of the Soviet (not the presidential) Constitution and in defense of Soviet power as a whole. Two pickets "held the line" at the oblast soviet building—the participants demanded from the people's elected representatives support for their demands and defense of the voters' right to choose themselves the path along which their country would develop.

The extraordinary session itself almost did not take place. When voting, the deputies excluded from the agenda on two occasions the basic question for the sitting "On the Drafts of the Russian Federation Constitution." It was only the third individual vote which allowed the session's work to commence.

After a long debate a decision was adopted: The drafts of the Russian Federation Constitution should be taken into consideration and it should be established that they, from the point of view of the oblast's interests, are unsatisfactory. A proposal was put forward: To nevertheless arrive at a single draft. The session advocated early elections for the presidency and to the corps of deputies. The Smolensk region deputies consider that this will be the best possible way out of the deadlocked conflict between the executive and legislative branches of power.

Ingushetia, North Ossetia Contemplate 'Secession'

MK3108110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 47, 31 Aug 93 (Signed to Press 30 Aug) p 3

[Anna Yefimova report under "Conflict" rubric: "North Ossetia and Ingushetia Again Exchange Accusations. Kalmykia and the Caucasian Parliament Try To Mediate in the Conflict"]

[Text] The Caucasian parliament (a legislature of the Confederation of Caucasus Peoples—CCP) intends to discuss ways of resolving the Ossetian-Ingush conflict at its mid-September session in Adygeya. According to CCP President Musa Shanibov, the confederation has already organized two commissions whose task so far is only to gather information.

President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov of Kalmykia also declared his republic's intention to act as a mediator in settling the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. On 28 August a delegation of the Kalmyk Council of Elders arrived in Vladikavkaz.

Meanwhile, North Ossetia has reacted rather negatively to Ruslan Aushev's statement to leaders of the CIS states. In his statement the Ingush president sharply criticized Russia's policy in the northern Caucasus, saying that a referendum could be held in Ingushetia on the question of secession from the Russian Federation. According to the North Ossetian leadership, this "statement...leads neither to a constructive dialogue nor to a search for peace and accord in the region."

Nonetheless, CCP President Musa Shanibov believes that apart from such statements by the Ossetian leadership, the probability of North Ossetia itself leaving the Russian Federation is fairly high. This is related above all to the signing of a treaty between Russia and Georgia scheduled for September, as a result of which South and North Ossetia will be divided.

Ruslan Aushev for his part accused the Ossetian leadership of founding its political practice on "a fascist ideology" which, in his opinion, can be observed from a decree issued by Vladikavkaz on the impossibility of cohabitation between the Ossetians and the Ingushes.

Refugees remain one of the most painful issues in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, as well as one of the main trump cards in the political game conducted by its main participants. Ruslan Aushev in his statement cited a figure of 64,000 Ingush refugees fleeing Prigorodnyy Rayon. Aleksandr Khodov, secretary of the North Ossetian Security Council, quotes a figure of 34,000. The republic's leadership promised to ensure the return of 5,000 families to their homes before the end of the year. The republic's migration service has totally different figures.

Meanwhile news agencies report "sporadic automatic weapons fire" in the zone covered by the state of emergency; "grenades and hundreds of rounds of ammunition of various calibers are being confiscated" from passengers during searches on highways. A few days ago "unidentified persons blew up the building of the stone- and rock-crushing shop at the Kavdolomit mine administration."

Ingush Find 'Cause for Hope' During Moscow Talks

PM0109104593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by Akhmed Khadzhi Poshev, head of a delegation of Ingush clergy, under the "International Conflicts" rubric: "Refugees Should Return"]

[Text] We have been in Moscow for a week now. Our delegation has met with Viktor Chernomyrdin, Vladimir Shumeyko, Sergey Shakhray, Sergey Filatov, and representatives of the Russian legislature. The results give cause for hope: We met with reciprocal understanding. The Russian Government leaders assured us that the refugee problem—the most burning of those brought about by last year's armed conflict in the northern Caucasus—will be resolved. This will evidently be discussed at the Russian Security Council session in the first days of September, at which it is been planned to make a political assessment of the tragedy.

We are convinced that if you ask ordinary Ingush and Ossetians whether they are prepared to live together as they did before, you will receive a positive response. So the problem of the "impossibility of coexistence" is an invented one. Viktor Polyanichko, who died an untimely death and whose murder, we consider, absolutely must be solved, understood this as well. We ask that a person be appointed in his place who is energetic, strong, and wise—only such a person will be able to manage to carry out the duties of Temporary Administration head. Sergey Filatov promised that our request would be taken into consideration.

At the meetings with the government we were often asked whether Ingushetia really could leave the Russian Federation. In reply we reminded people: Never in our people's history have the Ingush taken up arms against Russians, but as far as a way out is concerned... It is difficult to make forecasts when the people, worn out by the troubles, are losing hope, but we believe that our people will remain faithful to their historical homeland, and that Russia will also regard it as a son and not as a stepson, in this difficult hour when the firmness of the historical ties which have bound together two peoples in the Russian family are being tested.

We also talked at our meetings with the government leaders about aid in the form of building materials and equipment, which Ingushetia needs, and about the territorial question. Yesterday President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev sent a letter to the heads of the CIS states and the federation components asking them not to allow the Ingush people to be annihilated, as an ethnic group which has been a bearer of Caucasian culture for thousands of years, and to assist us in reviving the republic's state and territorial integrity. In this request you can definitely hear the voice of our long-suffering people—a voice, which, we hope, will be heard.

North Ossetian Extremists Block Passage of Trucks, Buses

LD3108165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Several columns of buses, carrying ethnic Ingushes, and trucks, carrying prime necessities, were blocked by aggressive crowds at 11 A.M. today at a traffic police post in Beslan and the settlement of Chermen on their way from Nazran to Dzhayrakh and Kartsa.

The columns were formed under the supervision of the temporary administration on territories of Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia, sources at the administration told ITAR-TASS.

North Ossetian policemen, who witnessed the incident, did not try to restore public order and ensure further movement of the columns. They actually connived at outrage of extremist-minded Northern Ossetians.

Interior and army servicemen prevented the incident's turning into large-scale riots. But it was decided to return the columns in Nazran to avoid risking the life of women and children.

The circumstances of road blocking show it was a deliberate provocation on the part of North Ossetian extremist forces.

The temporary administration reaffirms its determination to achieve the implementation of rights of Russian citizens to the freedom of travelling aboard all means they have in accordance with the laws on the state of emergency and counts on wisdom of the North Ossetian leadership and peoples.

Kalmykia Offers To Mediate Ossetian-Ingush Conflict

MK0109142193 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 36, 5 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 31 Aug) p A12

[Yuriy Rublevskiy commentary in "Northern Caucasus" column: "Elista Also Wants To Become a Geneva"]

[Excerpts] Elista, the capital of Kalmykia, is laying claim to the status of intermediary in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. Kalmykia president Kirsan Ilyumzhinov stated that he makes no secret of his intention to turn the republic's capital into a "third Geneva, after Kislovodsk, in the Northern Caucasus." This declaration was made on 30 August at the executive council of the Assembly of Democratic Forces of the Caucasus [ADFC] in Vladikavkaz. A week before the forum the Kalmyk leadership sent 2,500 tonnes of wheat to North Ossetia and to Ingushetia as humanitarian aid.

"I am ready to collaborate with any organization and movement that puts the interests of the Ossetian and the Ingush people above their political ambitions," Yuriy Shatalin, acting head of the provisional administration in the state of emergency zone, commented on Kalmykia's initiative in a conversation with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's correspondent. This was perhaps the most amenable assessment of Elista's peacemaking efforts. Other participants were lukewarm toward the aspirant for Geneva's laurels.

The fact is that before Elista, Kislovodsk, Makhachkala, and Stavropol suffered a defeat. Therefore so far the place of the "Caucasian Geneva" remains vacant. Participants

in the ADFC executive committee session repeatedly pointed out in their statements that this vacancy should be filled by another city—Vladikavkaz. "It is no secret to anyone that the key to the solution of the Ossetian-Ingush today is in the hands of the leadership of North Ossetia, which is categorically refusing to allow the Ingush refugees back to their homes"—this was the keynote of statement by delegations from Dagestan, Kabardino- Balkaria, and representatives of the Confederation of Caucasus Peoples.

Vladikavkaz, however, evaded giving a response. All that the North Caucasian forum, represented by 70 democratic organizations from the region, could do was to create a group of people's diplomacy. It is to work out a conciliation procedure for the two peoples, as the final document says, "taking into account the mountain people's traditions." At the same time, participants in the ADFC session noted the danger of the conflict's spreading over the entire Northern Caucasus. [passage omitted]

Major General Nikolay Shentsev, deputy head of the provisional administration in the state of emergency area, recalled that the peace proposals on the Ossetian-Ingush conflict have been invariably postponed. "In the meantime the latent conflict today is developing into open confrontation," he concluded.

Caucasus Confederation Meets; Discusses Conflicts

PM0209095593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 5

[State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs report: "Makhachkala"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus leadership has been held in Dagestan's capital. Representatives of all the North Caucasus republics (with the exception of Chechnya) took part in it, as did representatives of the republics, krays, and oblasts of southern Russia, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia.

The question of the sociopolitical situation in the Caucasus as a whole was discussed along with the problem of resolving the Ossetian-Ingush conflict and the situation in Abkhazia.

Yuriy Shanibov, president of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus, stated that the confederation had expedited the withdrawal of volunteers from the Abkhaz conflict zone, since Abkhaz territory was continuing to be shelled from Georgia.

Regions Withhold Tax Payments to Moscow

MK0109125793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin article: "Center's War With the Regions. Boris Fedorov Retreats, Losing Billions"]

[Text] Behind the smokescreen of hounding corrupt officials, the idea for a Council of the Federation, and early elections, few people have noticed that a war is going on in Russia. A war between the federal Ministry of Finance and the soviets of krays and oblasts. The authorities of Krasnoyarsk and Altay Krays decided, on 30 August, to reduce their payment of taxes toward the federal budget. The men in Krasnoyarsk decided to withhold 132 billion rubles, while those in Altay held back 21.6 billion rubles. Last week a similar decision was made by the authorities in Yaroslavl Oblast, and on 27 August leaders of the remaining oblasts of the Golden Ring, including Moscow Oblast, followed suit. Yet another not very convincing piece of information from Orel appeared against this background about the creation of a Central Russian Republic that would allegedly group 11 oblasts in the region. The sensation caused by the setting up of a Central Russian Republic has some grounds—a month ago, heads of 18 oblasts in the region conferred in Orel and sympathetically regarded the idea of the Vladimir authorities to reduce, of their own accord, payments toward the federal budget. According to experts' calculations, more than 30 of the 88 federation components have unilaterally reduced their tribute to the Kremlin.

What has happened to the "primordial Russian lands" that used to be regarded as the outpost of unity (or unitarianism) of Russia against the backdrop of the recalcitrant national republics? The kray and oblast authorities explain their stance thus: The Russian Finance Ministry is not returning the agreed upon part of their "tribute." Because of this, local authorities cannot pay salaries to staffers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Security Ministry, to teachers; they cannot buy grain, and so forth. Therefore the regions calculate the difference between the federal subsidies and the total sum of payments to Moscow, and keep it—in order not to "sit in Boris Fedorov's reception room and beg for their own money." Incidentally, most of the conscientious defaulters regard what they do with no special emotions. "This is an illegal action, but it is a good idea," one official told me in Krasnoyarsk. In Yaroslavl, they traditionally alluded to their neighbors: "Why is it that they in Ulyanovsk give Moscow 50 percent of the value-added tax while we pay 80 percent?" Remarkably, all who have cut back their tribute to the Kremlin stress the apolitical nature of their decisions. But a majority of them are prepared to defend their decisions at the very first session of the Federation Council. Curiously, the hailstorm of reports about curtailments of deductions to the federal budget have been greeted with silence by the Ministry of Finance; this gives oblasts and krays the impression that their actions are legitimate. Some recall the Federation Treaty, where budget policy was a subject of shared competence.

Three Leaders Vie for Control in Chelyabinsk

MK3108124593 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 47, 31 Aug 93 (signed to press 30 Aug) p 3

[Zhanna Trofimova report under "Regions" rubric: "A Third Power Has Emerged in Chelyabinsk? The Central Bank May Unfreeze the Accounts of the Legitimate Oblast Administration"]

[Text] Last week the Central Bank of Russia, following an order from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, froze the accounts of the oblast administration headed by Vadim Solovyev. New accounts were opened accordingly by the "parallel administration" headed by Petr Sumin.

The same day Chelyabinsk democrats demanded that the president reconfirm Solovyev's powers. Well-informed sources, however, say that there is no unanimity on this issue among the top federal leadership. Serious proposals were made for Vadim Solovyev's resignation and the appointment to this post of Petr Sumin, who was "elected by the people and enjoys the support of the oblast" anyway.

Nonetheless, Solovyev's representative said, Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko is expected in the very near future to "restore law and order" by returning the accounts to the oblast administration. According to him, this problem is being closely dealt with by a number of government members, including Viktor Chernomyrdin.

In the meantime, the dual power situation in the oblast has been complemented by the "formation" of a South Urals republic. Sergey Kostromin, who proclaimed himself the republic's president a few days ago, told a press conference that he had received an invitation to come to Moscow from the president's administration. Mr. Kostromin is convinced that the subject of the discussion in the capital will be a mechanism for the transfer of real power to him.

Sergey Kostromin heads the National State Party in the city of Zlatoust (Chelyabinsk Oblast) and publishes the paper NAKANUNE [ON THE EVE] which professes what observers see as a pro-Nazi ideology. He was a candidate for the post of oblast administration chief, ranking 12th, the last, in the election. The oblast authorities are openly calling him a "schizophrenic" and therefore do not intend to disprove his statements officially.

So far the "self-proclaimed leader" has issued an edict forbidding the export of goods, raw materials, and foodstuffs from the republic; ordering a 50 percent reduction of prices for milk, bread, meat, and sugar; and also introducing "joint patrolling by the South Urals Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry and Russian Federation Defense Ministry detachments of all towns in the republic."

Oblast Leaders Seek To Create 'Central Russian Republic'

MK3108130093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 47, 31 Aug 93 (signed to press 30 Aug) p 3

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under "Autonomization" rubric: "A New Republic Being Formed in the Center of Russia? Its 'Founding Fathers' Are Demanding Money"]

[Text] The leaders of 11 oblasts in the center of Russia have decided to create a special economic zone. This was announced by Nikolay Volodin, chairman of the Orel Oblast council. The aim of the association is the "social and demographic restoration of the indigenous Russian territories that make up half of Russia." "It is high time to think about the fate of those regions where indigenous Russians live," Mr. Volodin said. According to INTERFAX, the "Russian zone" will be formed on an "ethnic principle" and will possibly be called the Central Russian Republic.

The idea of a special economic zone has been actively promoted in the Supreme Soviet, which is expected to sanction the allocation of 15 billion rubles as "startup capital" for the zone. Leonid Yevstifeyev, an Orel Oblast council deputy, told SEGODNYA that no funds have yet been provided. Nonetheless, observers point out that a political foundation for such appeals to the Supreme Soviet exists: The leadership of the Central Chernozem oblasts is known for its strong anti-Yeltsin mood.

According to Yevstifeyev, the oblasts neighboring Orel Oblast—Kursk, Belgorod, and Lipetsk—have also expressed a wish to take part in the creation of the "republic." The existing economic association of the Central Chernozem regions incorporating these oblasts "has proved ineffective."

It is not known whether the new association will be viable, but the very idea of creating it holds much promise for the Central Russian oblasts, which are heavily dependent on subsidies. "The new association will not be politically colored," Mr. Volodin said. It will be a financial association.

No answer has yet been received to the question of what is meant by the "ethnic principle" of the republic's formation.

Magadan Oblast Seeks Financial Aid From Chernomyrdin

OW0109063393 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Aug 93

[From the "Oblast News"]

[Text] Head of the Magadan Oblast administration Viktor Mikhaylov held a news conference today at which he told of his participation in the conference held in Khabarovsk headed by Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. As expected, the Magadan delegation presented its own package of proposals, which could not be solved locally without financial assistance from the government. The issues included the survival of agriculture; the building of the Kolymskoye and Srednekanskiy hydroelectric power stations; timely mutual payments for gold extracted and delivered to the state; the encouragement of foreign investment; and transaction procedures with foreign firms. All these issues were presented to the government delegation in a 10-minute speech delivered from the podium, and in a separate 15-minute meeting between the head of the oblast administration and the prime minister.

Deputy Finance Minister Views Maritime Kray Economy

OW0209045393 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 28 Aug 93

[From the "Far East Panorama" edition of the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[Text] Our correspondent Tatyana Bogatikova has interviewed Russian Deputy Minister of Finance Petr Vasilyevich Chernomorda during the stay of the Russian government delegation in the Maritime Kray last week. The subject of the interview is a topical one: The economic situation of the Maritime Kray.

[Begin recording] [Bogatikova] What are the results of your visit, and what are your personal conclusions after you have seen the situation in the Maritime Kray?

[Chernomorda] I took a look, and I am convinced—as I have already been convinced—that we will survive. The confusion that existed before is already gone. Some enterprises are already stabilizing their activities. Therefore, the government delegation .... [pauses] Several measures will be adopted, and the kray will improve its life and activity, and people will believe even more in both the government and the president.

[Bogatikova] Will any settlements with the Maritime Kray be implemented before the end of 1993?

[Chernomorda] I think that this was best said by our premier, Viktor Stepanovich. How can one not believe him when he has already signed several documents precisely on allocation of additional funds and assets for the kray? Therefore, there is no doubt about this at all. Everything will be supplied and everything will be done that has been additionally adopted. These measures will be provided with the necessary documents.

Unfortunately, we got carried away by talks that concentrated too much on consumption, on giving the kray some additional funds. There was no discussion on how to make better use of what the kray has, such as internal resources and allocated material and financial resources. Speaking in general terms, unfortunately there are shortcomings in the kray, and maybe in our work too. But for some reason this is not revealed to the people, and no one talks about it. I have the numbers. If we add up the material and monetary resources allocated in the kray, we come up with a very large sum. It includes budget funds, and credit, investment and material resources. No one counts this, and people are not informed of it. If one would analyze this data, people might be more critical of their local leadership, and ask them how they use and spend the funds and how they manage the kray's economy.

[Bogatikova] Could we do without assistance?

[Chernomorda] It should all be viewed comprehensively. For example, a measure that will guarantee Russian financing will be adopted. Some of it is local, some is republican. This is the structure today. [end recording]

Conversion in Nizhniy Novgorod Detailed

PM0109091993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 93

[By Olga Romanova and Valeriy Ivanov from Nizhniy Novgorod; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Romanova] It is no secret to anyone that industry in Nizhniy Novgorod consists of major defense enterprises that used to be maintained by the state budget. Plant leaders complained that 60 percent of their profit went to the state. But those same plants were paid for construction, the purchase of machine tools, and social development. Now the enterprises pay up to 80 percent tax, both federally and locally. The popular saying comes to mind here: You've got to adapt if you want to survive. In other words, if you want to survive, switch to conversion. Not all enterprises are coping with the tasks that confront them but in Nizhniy Novgorod they have found a solution. Take the "Gidromash" and "NIITOP" plants, for example.

[A.A. Gulyayev, chief engineer of the firm "NIITOP"] We make this component which is used in the manufacture of environmentally friendly refrigerators. There are just three firms in the world producing these components today. Two are in the United States, the other firm is in Japan. In the "Morozka" refrigerator, for example, the whole back unit will be replaced by a thermomodule like this.

St. Petersburg Property Fund Bank Account Closed

LD0109102693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] The St. Petersburg Tax Inspectorate has closed the bank account of the St. Petersburg Property Fund, which has virtually suspended privatization, reports the POST-FACTUM agency. The Property Fund is now unable even to publicize announcements about holding voucher auctions and trading. In the view of privatization experts, this measure is unprecedented and should be replaced by other sanctions.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Addresses Supreme Council on Economy

LD0109172893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1306 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Speech by President Leonid Kravchuk to the Supreme Council session in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies: The question of Ukraine's participation in economic integration with Russia, Belarus, and other CIS members has become a topic of political battles in our state and in other states. Special attention has been paid to it lately, particularly in connection with the preparations for a tripartite agreement with Russia and Belarus and the treaty on economic union in the framework of the CIS.

Does this problem exist? Yes, it does, and it is a very acute one. It must be solved, and a concrete decision must be made. Until we do this, until we agree on this issue among all branches of power, all political forces, and all leaders inside Ukraine and beyond its borders, there will be those who will try to use this problem in their own narrow interests, falsify the actual state of affairs, bring accusations, and compete in bowing to the great neighbor in a bid to win popularity.

First, one needs to dwell on—or rather return to—history, in order to dot the i's. First question. Who demolished the Soviet Union? The blame is being put on Ukraine, but this is not true. The truth is that the Soviet Union did not begin to fall apart in the Belovezhskaya Forest, and the initiator of its disintegration was not Ukraine at all, neither its president, nor the Supreme Council. It was the objective law of social development—the nations' movement toward independence and statehood. Today one can argue only about those issues that concern our ability to lead this movement, channel it into a civilized perspective, and ensure the state's real economic independence. That is a valid point.

We were not disrupting relations but were looking for ways to their preservation among republics on the principles which would comply with new realities and people's aspirations. Our approaches were based on, first, the establishment of new market relations and liquidation of the centralized approach, the planned-administrative one. Second, the preservation of sovereign equality and full independence of the state while taking any decisions, including those on economic issues, mutual reformation and mutual assistance in reforming the economy. We were looking for a political formula of cooperation on the basis of consolidating genuine independence, setting up joint inter-republican institutions which would comply with the real demands of the people and with common sense.

At the time when the Union existed, and this is true, the idea, as a matter of fact, was to build relations on the basis of confederative political relations and effective economic cooperation. Then I was advocating this very pattern. Those who forgot this can again review the minutes of the Supreme Council sittings at which I, as its chairman, was informing the deputies about my participation in the work of the Council of the Federation and the State Council and explaining my stand in parliament as well. Boris Yeltsin was supporting the idea of a confederation, as the then chairman of Russia's parliament and then its president; he pointed out that an independent state could tackle issues of its development independently, without the influence of any [word indistinct] Union structures. Some people forgot this and I want to remind them of this.

Today we cannot, and this would be not true, present the Belovezhskaya agreement as a document which laid down a basis for the disruption of ties among the former republics and consider this to be the primary problem facing our [word indistinct]. At this point I would like to quote certain provisions concerning relations, from that text of the agreement which we signed in Belovezhskaya Forest. This is very important. For example, here is article seven: The high contracting parties acknowledge that the sphere of their joint activity, which is to be carried out on the basis of mutual equality through joint coordinating institutions of the Commonwealth, involves—this is the most important thing here—cooperation in forming and developing a common economic space and an all-European and Euro-Asian market in the field of customs policies. Article Five: The high contracting parties recognize and respect each others' territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing borders within the framework of the Commonwealth. They guarantee openness of borders, and freedom of citizens' movement and transfer of information within the boundaries of the Commonwealth.

Such an agreement was signed. But on 10 December, we all here, in the Supreme Council, made a series of reservations and on 21 December in Almaty I received a statement expounding the official interpretation of the Belavezha agreement by which I, as president, and the prime minister and all others were to be guided. I quote: Ukraine will create its own open economic system by introducing its own monetary unit, creating its own banking and customs systems, developing its own system of transportation, and also participating in the regional and inter-regional (?markets).

Today I would not like to assess the correctness of this decision. The Supreme Council was guided by the referendum: On 1 December, 92 percent of [words indistinct] voted for independent Ukraine. I would only like to appeal to those people's deputies and ask them: To what kind of influence does the president yield? What kind of force? To the Supreme Council or some other body [word indistinct], as they hint here, to Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] [word indistinct]?

I have quoted for you: If you need more, here is a statement by the Supreme Council. Read it, please, and you will see that everything we are doing today is written down here.

I am not questioning these Supreme Council decisions by any means, I stress, for they follow from the referendum. On the contrary, they were taken on the basis of the

referendum results, taking into account the Ukrainian people's will to build an independent state. I have always complied and will continue to comply with them. I would advise those deputies who think otherwise to take a look at this. Many of them were then sitting over here; now they are sitting over there and over there. When they were sitting over here they voted, and the vote was by name. I looked at how they voted, and if need be, I can give names. All they would need to do is come out to this podium and say: Esteemed people's deputies, we made a mistake, so let us correct it and open the door for the government and the president to act accordingly.

These days, however, some of them want to ride the self-isolation wave, and others the loyal subject and national hero wave. I would like to ask us to finally agree in our interpretations of this issue and not to forget, having such a very short memory, what was happening here in the Supreme Council. Well, they say the president has his own policy. Please read this and see where it differs. Signing any documents, I was guided by the Supreme Council's reservations.

I said this in order not to forget history and not to deceive people. Politics is a serious business, and populism has nothing to do with politics.

A few more points. Given the importance of supporting the established economic ties and forming new ones between Ukraine's economic actors and other states, first of all Russia, but now on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, these issues were, at our initiative—I stress this, and the press wrote about it—they were the subject of my bilateral meetings with the president of Russia and leaders of other states. In Minsk last January, Ukraine came out in favor of integration and submitted a relevant document. It is here, and it will be circulated among you. You have probably read it already.

I would also like to remind you that in May this year the president of Ukraine, together with the leadership of the CIS countries, signed a decision to instruct relevant bodies to prepare a draft document. I made some reservations there which follow from the decision and the statement by the Supreme Council. This is not a paper; it is a statement. Esteemed people's deputies, I would like us to respect our own decisions; I am not quoting my own decrees, but Supreme Council decisions, statements, and decisions. If they are just paper to you, then frankly we have no business sitting here. Do not argue; I am citing facts. If you have objections to this, you will tell us about them. I am not adding anything of my own.

Now, more detail about economic integration and economic union. I believe that to act today against economic integration, against Ukraine's economic ties with other states, including those within the CIS, means advocating senselessness because other states' experience proves that economic cooperation and integration is a typical feature of modern international relations. The fact is that West European states have formed a common market, the United States, Canada, and Mexico are moving toward economic integration, and there are economic communities in Africa and in other regions. The reasons behind forming such economic groups were not of the same kind. There were intentions of free will and equality, a desire to overcome difficulties by joint efforts, but more often than not states opted for integration under the pressure of a necessity of life which resulted from the hopelessness of a common colonial past. This is history.

However, the movement of states toward economic integration always occurred gradually, in stages, and without fail aimed at advantages and at strengthening one's own state, sovereignty, and independence. This is self-evident. I believe that our approach toward participation in economic integration in the world should be determined above all by real national interests in this sphere. It should be founded on the historical experience of our people and of other countries and logically stem from those legal principles which have already been formulated by the Ukrainian parliament.

We can and should search for forms and ways of economic cooperation that are the best for ensuring the implementation of national structural transformations in our economy, transferring it onto a market path, securing independence, and utilizing internal potentials.

We are interested in establishing economic links with other states that will realistically allow our producers to speedily settle mutual accounts and freely move goods, services, and capital according to principles approved by world practice, and which have proved their efficiency and (?are advantageous). Incidentally, I was not present here yesterday but was able to listen to the speeches of some deputies. I listened to the speech of Deputy Martynenko, who said that as a director he needs two conditions—a bank, and the problem of customs, and whatever is connected with that. He can resolve all problems without a new center, without a new diktat, be it from Kiev, be it from Moscow, or be it a joint one.

In addition, I would like to stress that the main guideline for Ukraine in economic integration with other states should be the question of how much such integration would contribute to overcoming difficulties and strengthening its statehood. Do we have such calculations, an analysis of proposed drafts, the pluses and minuses of that? Do we have calculations of what we will gain from this tomorrow or today and what the possible prospects and consequences are? I will tell you frankly that we do not and could not have them because I only received on the 27th of this month, on the basis of analysis done in the states, observations, and new drafts and documents, [sentence as heard] I have just handed over these documents to the Supreme Council, to Ivan Stepanovych [Plyushch]. I received them on the 27th, and today is the 1st. Naturally we could not make all of those calculations in that time.

Who should make them, these calculations? Above all the government, commissions of the Supreme Council, presidential structures, and the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. They should give interpretations, conclusions, or

observations, discuss the issues, and adopt decisions. Conclusions, I repeat, should be based not on political statements, but on sound calculations.

I would like us now to stop competing concerning this—who is most in favor of a union, who is against a union, who should be got rid of, who deserves praise—but to sit round a table, and make calculations about what we will gain from such a union. Then this will be serious, and it can be discussed. I would like us to leave, to leave all of this, and sit down to specific calculations and specific documents. I do not accept and will never be able to agree to examine the union as some kind of amorphous structure, as some kind of formula, which is advantageous irrespective of analysis and consequences. (?We) should not examine the union as a concept, but as a specific document, a specific treaty, its articles, and to make conclusions about them, that's all, and after that, we should adopt a decision.

I consider that this is a realistic approach, and we should stick to this, and following an analysis and conclusions discuss the draft treaty and propose our own draft, our observations, which would be in line with Ukraine's interests and the decisions of the Supreme Council. That is the first thing.

There can be a second variant. It can be. To abrogate these resolutions of the Supreme Council, to denounce them, if we have such grounds, and then for each to do as he pleases, without the steering wheel and the sails. If there are amateurs to do this, they are welcome. Personally I, for example, favor the first variant. The first variant. Then the people will see that we have a serious approach toward such an important issue.

By the way, there are conclusions concerning this by specialists as well, who believe that we must abide by this very approach. They even say that this issue must be submitted to the people. But I do not even speak about this, I say that we here, in the Supreme Council, should determine our policy. Believe me, I would like it most of all if the president, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the Supreme Council come to an agreement, embark on some definite road, and stop arguing because this does no good to anyone; this only has negative consequences.

One should not forget that today Ukraine is a state. It has marked its second anniversary. The people were celebrating; they were proud of the fact that we have our own state and this sacred belief in the state with the majority of people, this belief in its future is the main motive force by which we are to be guided today, and by which I must be guided as president, and every government official and every chosen representative of the people. I think so, and we all must sincerely cherish this belief, take care of our state, because millions of people here believed and believe in this and they are ready to spare none of their efforts toward that end. Not only these millions, as they say, believed and believe in us but the entire world believed and believes in us.

It would be a catastrophe to deviate from this. This would be a tragedy. It would be a tragedy to take a step which would give grounds today or in the future to ruin all that has been done, all that has been gained. We have many sad examples in our long-suffering history and we have no right to forget this. However, such a stand does not in the least mean, I stress this again, any objections of principle as far as the very idea of economic cooperation is concerned. A calmer and more realistic nature should be added to the document so that it would be not a declaration of intentions but a practical basis for the interaction of independent states so that there would be no threat to lose the gains, but so that everyone can be the winner.

I would like to emphasize again from this rostrum that I never came out against economic cooperation with Russia, Belarus, and other states of the former Union because the economic situation is such that we must closely interact, using mutual resources, raw materials, to exchange products. We are not yet prepared for the market we are striving for, the world market. This is true. It is necessary to push our way there, and it is only possible to push our way there with inexpensive, quality products, having created relevant infrastructures. This in no way means that we should not think about this and should not make steps to push through, but stop, stand, and look in one direction only. [sentence as heard] This is why I favor economic cooperation.

A relevant document must proceed from the interests of every state: Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia, so that we do not begin everything from the very beginning, ruining everything which has been achieved, being unaware of the consequences, having no clear-cut answer to the question of what lies ahead? Does anyone really think that it is so simple to create joint structures today, and what is more, power structures? The document talks about this. Does anyone really think that it is so simple to refrain from that legislation which has been worked out by the Supreme Council and from those normative acts? This is not simple. Therefore, it is necessary to consider everything because on the wave of euphoria and emotions, one can quickly make a decision with complicated consequences. It is time for experience to teach us something.

Apart from everything else, the time we have lived through was for us both a time of destroyed illusions for some and a time of loss for some; for some it was painful, and for some not so painful. (?Although one should also) believe in another, can it be now, if one is only to believe in integration, this will save our state, while not tackling domestic problems? [sentence as heard]

I support those deputies who spoke from this rostrum and were arguing that until we ourselves resolve our domestic problems concerning economic policy, concerning privatization, demonopolization, getting a banking and financial system going, until we get all of this going, until we learn to earn in order to pay and not to build relations only on good terms, we will never get out of this crisis.

If I ask the question: tell me please, today it is hard for us, and this is true, and tomorrow it could be easier, this is also true, but will integration today give us, for example, cheap oil, cheap gas? The people say aloud no, and this is also

true. One will have to pay for whatever. Integration ought only resolve one issue. A number of issues—settlements, the creation and prevention of artificial obstacles which exist in economic life, etc., this has to be done, and I am for this, but if you think that there will be no market again now, and everything will be cheap, then you ask the Russian Gas concern, it is a concern now, and it determines prices now.

Until there is privatization, until people are able to work themselves, to earn, to be accountable, and to have motives and stimuli to work, well, believe me, all of the above is an illusion. Naturally, prices will not be as they were before, because Russia and all the other states are going toward the market, and the market means remuneration for outlay. To live in accordance with world prices, there has to be the appropriate outlay too. So far no one has found another way. One should not even imagine that another union with a centralized system will put everything in its former place, and that oil will cost less than a bottle of water.

I do not want to remind you of this, but after what has already happened, not only in Ukraine, but in other states too, why continue to live in a world of illusions and deceive people? Why do this? They need to be told the truth. The situation is that we can live and work successfully only in close cooperation now with those countries, and above all those countries, which have been created on the territory of the former Union—this is realism, this is not an illusion—but without losing our economic independence, making our way with all our strength onto the world market, because Russia and Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, all of them, are going and making their way toward this, and we cannot stop in this matter. That would be a great mistake. We can live if we all undertake the resolution of our domestic problems.

The conclusion is that economic cooperation within the CIS is an objective necessity. We must examine the document and make a relevant decision. We must find a suitable form. To dismiss it would be wrong and politically erroneous. It would not accord with the interests of our people and our state.

So what are, in my view, the main guidelines for action in the political and economic spheres in the near future?

First, we must work out a clear plan for our strategic conduct in the present situation, taking account of all the factors following from and affecting the situation in Ukraine. The objective is to win back the initiative both in the foreign policy relations, first of all with Russia, and in the internal political processes, where much is being left to drift with the tide. All branches of power must find a well-grounded platform and agree on an unambiguous decision. Political leaders must stop competing in their political objectives and speeches, do their business, and account for what they have been put in charge of.

Second, Ukraine must make an in-depth assessment of its geopolitical situation, because the change in political systems and the emergence of new states on the territory of the former Soviet Union, I stress, did not lead to the disintegration of the given entity, which objectively requires that the rest of the states, as policy actors, only modernize their mutual relations, but do not actually sever them. Again, this should be modernization, not renewal because the formula for renewal, no matter how you interpret it, means a return to the old structures.

We cannot leave today the given entity and swiftly, simultaneously, rush to re-orient ourselves for the West European community. Neither politically nor economically. We are not ready. Integration must not be forced; it must conform to objective preconditions. That is why we need to establish new forms of comprehensive, first of all economic, ties with our traditional associates, most of whom also happen to be Ukraine's neighbors.

Third, acknowledgement of the fact of interdependence with the countries of the CIS, and first of all with Russia, requires that economic reform in Ukraine be constantly compared with the processes in other states, and first of all those in Russia. The aim is not to lag behind the states and Russia in reforms, but to stay, so to speak, in the same circle with them despite all possible differences in the methods of carrying out the reforms. This will enable the two states to cooperate fruitfully on an equal basis and overcome the crisis in the Ukrainian economy more quickly. I must remind you that we are far behind, and I have said more than once that soon we will be too behind to integrate not only with the European countries, but even with Russia, because we are standing still, while others are moving ahead.

All the same, I want us to analyze more seriously the political processes, which are taking place in Russia, and the actions of certain forces regarding Ukraine, and I do not want us to indulge in any euphoria. I have taken some newspapers, here they are, which were published on 21 August on the day of the celebration of our independence, and so some newspapers have written here [reads in Russian] there will be no Ukrainian republic, there will be 20-odd provinces directly subordinate to the center [reverts to Ukrainian]; this is from a newspaper. Some write that, no, no, it is important that people hear this, [reads in Russian], it is a (?lie), writes the newspaper, the empire is a historically and geopolitically conditioned form of development. From the earliest times Russia was conscious of itself as a successor and custodian of an all-imperial legacy. From that moment Russian masters were the natural successors of the Roman and Byzantine Caesars, and Russia was the successor of the universal imperial tradition. [switches to Ukrainian] This is what is written in the newspapers. The newspaper IZVESTIYA has written this, the, I will tell you in a moment, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has written this.

So, esteemed people's deputies, I want us to have a serious attitude to this. Thus one cannot say that—one can pay no attention to this—they are saying: Why do we pay attention to some things and not to others? We ought to analyze everything and see that there are certain forces which state their intentions and that we can disregard this—not take it

into account. After all there is a decision of parliament regarding Sevastopol and other matters. Is there such a decision or not?

Let us analyze, not blame anyone but think about what steps we are taking.

Fourth, undoubtedly, without qualified, dedicated people it will not be easy to solve these and other urgent tasks of domestic economic, foreign political, and political nature facing our state. Replying to the question—what does Ukraine lack to get out of the crisis—one variant of the answer obtained the highest rating of 75-78 percent: It lacks clever people expert in economics. True, it will not be easy for the new cadres and the existing ones to solve economic issues, but only we ourselves can solve them by choosing a correct economic course, including the course toward integration, having weighed up all the pros and cons and having adopted a correct decision.

Since I am already on this podium, I would like to express my attitude to the referendum, all the more so because this issue has also been raised. In order to reply to it, I would like to ask both you and myself a question. What do we expect from the referendum? To destroy power or to transfer it in a civilized way? If we want to destroy it, then such a referendum is truly necessary because apart from confrontation—I am referring to the referendum planned for 26 September—it will give us nothing in principle because there is no constitutional outcome. The results are known to everyone, and nobody will be able to say anything new. There is no need to conceal the facts. I made a speech—if you read my two speeches then, there is no need to take out individual words which may be convenient for somebody—I made a speech in favor of elections—i.e. in favor of a transfer of power—elections of all branches, only they must be held on time.

Why am I speaking in this way? I will explain soon. When the elections take place to the bodies of the representative and executive powers, as we have already written in the new constitution, then a structure of power will be created from below to the center. A structure of power will be created and there will be no power vacuum. The new parliament elects, appoints a new government, and there is a power in the country which governs Ukraine. The new power is elected by the people and is appropriately appointed by the new Supreme Council. Then we can ask the question about the transfer of power or the re-election of the president. This is a normal way of transferring power in a civilized way, so we should not argue about it.

We have come with honor out of the situation that has arisen. To prove now who has the most points, who has the highest or lowest ratings—this is, forgive me for the word, not serious today. Our ratings are known. There is no need to drive Ukraine to war but it is necessary to transfer power peacefully, in a civilized and serious way so that this power will work and treasure Ukraine, but I see that there are forces that would like to raise this question in a slightly different way. Incidentally the miners—and there is no need to conceal the facts, there are documents in the Supreme Council and I had conversations with them before the last speech where the issue of pre-term elections of all branches of power was raised. [sentence as heard]

That is all. Now let us stop the discussions around this issue, which are not bringing our people anything other than misfortune. I am ready and call on you for a civilized transfer of power and not for confrontation. Thank you for your attention.

Kuchma Interviewed on Fate of Economic Program

AU0209111093 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 31 Aug 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma by Olena Hubina in Kiev; date not given: "A Team of Like-Minded Persons May Trigger Reforms"]

[Text] **Leonid Kuchma is considered to be a phenomenal premier, because, despite the deepening crisis in Ukraine, his rating has gone up over the last six months. Some people predict that, perhaps, for precisely that reason, he will not be given a chance to mark even his first anniversary in this post. The first brick in the structure of Kuchma's government has fallen: Viktor Pynzenyk has resigned. How does the prime minister view the situation? Journalists asked him about this during the air show at the Antonov airfield. We publish excerpts from the interview.**

[Hubina] What is your attitude toward Pynzenyk's resignation?

[Kuchma] You are probably aware of the fact that an interesting situation has recently taken shape around the government and, especially, around the premier in accordance with a detailed scenario. The attempt at the session to push the referendum issue to the background and to hear the governmental program first is not accidental. That is probably why the government headed by me is living out its final days. For that reason I would also like to stress a few points here, one of which is the statement by Viktor Mykhaylovych [Pynzenyk] on his resignation. It was someone famous who said that, in the times of the pharaohs, not a single economics professor became minister of finance. This is true, but I have great respect for Viktor Mykhaylovych and I believe that he has a promising future. I would only like to wish one thing for him: that he acquire practical experience so that we, together with him, will not have to experiment with the economy of the entire country.

[Hubina] In other words, the resignation has been accepted?

[Kuchma] We had a serious conversation prior to his statement. When the parliament objected to Pynzenyk making a speech at the session, I told him: You see, this is practically a statement of your resignation. He is a courageous person.

[Hubina] Will this result in some changes in the government's economic policy?

[Kuchma] By no means. At an expanded meeting of the Presidium, we once more discussed the program that was

submitted to the Supreme Council. On Tuesday I will deliver a speech, and it would be worth asking the deputies to seriously analyze both the program and my speech.

[Hubina] Why do you think that only a few days remain for the government?

[Kuchma] I am sure that the program that I come out with and the measures that I propose will not be adopted by the parliament.

[Hubina] Why not? Or will the parliament refuse to adopt any program at all?

[Kuchma] I believe none at all.

[Hubina] What period of time is covered by the government's program?

[Kuchma] Mainly this year and 1994.

[Hubina] Is any program workable today in view of the fact that we are so dependent upon energy sources from Russia?

[Kuchma] Today this is where the main question lies. With whomever I meet—scientists, practical specialists, or officials at the Cabinet of Ministers—I always ask how to resolve this problem. By the end of the year, we must pay Russia $3 billion. I stick to the same position as in May. Unless we find a political solution with Russia, Ukraine's economy will not survive—and not only the economy but the people, too.

[Hubina] Do you see ways of repaying these debts?

[Kuchma] It is difficult for us to repay debts to Russia because last year's debt amounts to $2.5 billion. For the third time at the meeting of the government, I adopted a decision to turn to the Supreme Council with a request to create a parliamentary commission for finding out where this sum of $2.5 billion comes from. I do not believe that it is a normal debt. Today, we will not find this much money to repay it.

[Hubina] Russia has reduced gas deliveries to us by one-half?

[Kuchma] This is not true. We received a telegram that gas deliveries may be reduced. Yesterday, I had a conversation with the Russian premier. We agreed that for the time being, they will not take such measures.

[Hubina] Has the information to the effect that Turkey is about to bar our tankers from passing through the strait been confirmed?

[Kuchma] Turkey officially expressed its idea at a meeting of the Black Sea countries. Turkey has warned us: Look fellows, we are sorry, but 40 million tonnes of oil.... To talk about building a terminal is not the main issue today because even today we could receive almost 12 million tonnes of oil along Black Sea routes.

[Hubina] What is your forecast for the situation when we find ourselves really stranded?

[Kuchma] I would rather address this question to the highest leadership. One year ago, the Academy of Sciences Economics Institute presented estimates according to which, after we adopt world prices, Ukraine's deficit will amount to $10 billion in terms of the 1989 trade turnover. Without nonferrous metals. This is precisely the case. It is smaller today, because the industry is not functioning. However, the question exists. Why do we hush it up?

[Hubina] What could you say in connection with the situation at the interbank currency exchange?

[Kuchma] Not a single process remains without consequences. If we put in circulation practically 5 trillion karbovantsi and take into account the multiplier, then, naturally, the resulting figure will be quite large. Also, somebody found it necessary to start a panic about the introduction of the hryvnya. I put pressure upon the National Bank to give me a corresponding statement, and if we look at the auctions, when the rate of the dollar has gone up, there was not a single state enterprise there—only commercial structures.

[Hubina] Will the hryvnya be introduced this year?

[Kuchma] Of course not. Well, if somebody replaces me and he is a bit too smart, he will probably introduce the hryvnya. This may even be done in two months, and as a political action it will help. Then there will be a situation of collapse. The hryvnya must be supported by something, but what do we have?

[Hubina] We spoke much about Russia wanting to put a yoke upon us. However, the impression arises that Russia does not need either us or the Union.

[Kuchma] From the point of view of normal mutual relations, Russia needs Ukraine as an economic partner and not only economic. Ukraine also needs Russia for the same reason. However, I have no doubt whatsoever that Russia is pursuing a distinct policy aimed at ousting us from the market. I can quote dozens of examples showing that the Russians do not buy our goods. It is simpler for Russia to pay dollars to somebody else. If we now adopt world prices and are not within a single economic area, I do not know who will need us at all.

[Hubina] Does the Supreme Council presently have laws it has not discussed yet, laws that the government needs to have passed?

[Kuchma] More than 70 laws are presently waiting to be passed by the Supreme Council. Moreover, these laws need to be adopted without delay. Since May, when so-called "extraordinary powers" were taken away from the government, we have not been moving anywhere. In conditions of such a severe economic situation, every day matters.

I do not understand [chairman of the Supreme Council Ivan] Plyushch's statement at the festive [Independence Anniversary] meeting to the effect that the government is to blame for everything, that we have changed the government three times. However, now a question must be asked: Should the roots be sought deeper down? Everybody must look at himself objectively.

[Hubina] Will you now ask for extraordinary powers for the government?

[Kuchma] What were they like until May? It is absurd to talk about this.

[Hubina] How about obtaining the right to form the Cabinet of Ministers on your own?

[Kuchma] Yes, the appointment of personnel must only be carried out by the premier. You can see perfectly well that I have not managed to create my own team.

[Hubina] Who is the author of the scenario of attacks against the government?

[Kuchma] I think that you have enough experience and common sense to guess who. You see who is speaking out. Larysa Skoryk, to be sure, is the main one. However, I am grateful to her for invariably speaking against me. She had actively defended Fokin, and it is known how this ended. Now, she has got down to criticizing the president. I would ask her to leave, at least the president, alone. After all, he has been elected through nationwide elections.

[Hubina] Let us return to the program. What are its key aspects?

[Kuchma] The main task today is the restructuring of industry. When we adopt world prices, the greater part of our metallurgy and the chemical industry will become noncompetitive. This will lead to closing down unprofitable enterprises and to unemployment. However, all of these reforms may only be implemented if there is accord within society. If we pull in different directions, nothing will come out of this. In the Baltic states, reforms may be put into effect because there are like-minded people there.

What is our parliament today? It is difficult to imagine anything more conflicting. However, there is something that surprises me: During the session, many deputies come up to me and say: Leonid Danylovych, we agree with you. However, the fear that prevailed for 70 years, has remained. As a result, such a person will never express his opinion publicly. Even though he realizes inwardly that there cannot be economy without this, he would rather keep it to himself. What if the Whites or the Reds come? However, neither can possibly return!

I think that a single role must be left for the parliament until the elections—to elaborate the law on elections and on the Constitution. The entire legislative power must be transferred to the president and the entire executive power—to the government.

[Hubina] If there are early elections in spring, will you run for deputy?

[Kuchma] Deputy? I must think twice about this. However, I do not wish anyone to experience what I have gone through during this period.

Zhulynskyy Denies Resignation Rumor

LD0209094193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 1 Sep—Mykola Zhulynskyy, Ukraine's vice premier for humanitarian issues denied the widely spreading rumor of his resignation. "I am not about to make any such step," he said. "I believe I have always done my best for medicine, culture, and education under difficult conditions." Mykola Zhulynskyy stressed that there were no drastic differences between him and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

Sevastopol Organization Appeals to Kravchuk

LD0209100193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Sevastopol, 1 Sep—The city branch of the Prosvita Association approved an appeal to the president of Ukraine at its general assembly. It expresses concern and worry about the attitudes of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Mykola Bahrov, and the president's representative in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov, to the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol. "We can only talk about a temporary lease of part of the Sevastopol naval base berths to Russia and only with the condition that all Black Sea Fleet coastal troops that are to come under Russian jurisdiction are immediately withdrawn," the statement says. Sevastopol Prosvita members believe that the upcoming summit on the Black Sea Fleet problems must confirm the agreements reached earlier between Ukraine and Russia on the creation of the Ukrainian Navy and a Russian Navy Fleet on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet.

Rukh, Trade Unions Warn of Civil Disobedience

LD0209093793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 1 Sep—The People's Movement for Perestroyka [Rukh] and some trade unions have issued a statement in connection with the state government reform. "The Nikolayev Locomotive Depot Strike Committee has begun a civil disobedience action. All responsibility for the consequences of the strike rests with the Supreme Council," the statement says. The strikers' main demands are the Supreme Council's immediate resignation and rejection of the economic union treaty. Rail workers in Lvov pledged support for the Nikolayev people's demands. Rukh and trade unions emphasized the need to call an All-Ukrainian Congress of Political Parties, Public Organizations, and Trade Union Associations for 9 September this year to resolve the pressing questions of reforming state power.

Political Leaders on Planned Fall Referendum

WS0109143193 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 26 Aug 93 p 1

[By P. Vasyanovych: "Will the Legislature Dissolve Itself?"]

[Text] The situation revolving around the fall referendum on confidence in the Supreme Council and the Ukrainian president can be summed up as follows: The Supreme Council Presidium decided to submit this issue to repeated legislative debates. In connection with this, the Central Electoral Commission has halted preparations for the

referendum, so the issue remains open. Everything is to be decided by the deputies at one of the next meetings. The only certain result is that miners, whose pressure lead to the referendum in the first place, have been fooled. They canceled their strikes, but what about the referendum?

So, is a referendum necessary or not? We have addressed this question to leaders of different political parties, whose stance is critical to the referendum question.

M. Horyn, leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party:

"I believe that the Supreme Council and the president have done everything possible to recall the referendum. You can expect that the legislature will also do everything possible to delay this issue or reschedule the referendum for much later date. Our Supreme Council acts illogically, although it has already twice promised to ordain the referendum. It disgraced itself long ago and should step down. Our party will insist on it.

"Should the referendum be scheduled for September, we will not object; if it is postponed, it will be more expedient to replace it with an early election for the Supreme Council. The sooner we get rid of the legislature in its present composition, the better for Ukraine."

M. Boychyshyn, Rukh deputy chairman:

"The resolution on the referendum is bamboozling the people. It will not contribute to anything except a wasting of state funds. It would be better to spend the money allocated to the referendum on Army uniforms. It will improve the Army's reputation. Moreover, it was scheduled for September when the harvesting will not yet be completed. What is one supposed to do, drop everything and go to the polls?

"We should not aggravate the situation in our society and divide the people over who is for and or against something. We had an opportunity to watch the preparations for the referendum in Russia, and we saw passions there running high. It resulted in nothing. Ukraine needs calm right now.

"We all know in advance that the people will say no to the Supreme Council, so it would be desirable that the legislature shows some courage and cancels its powers. In such a case, the present Supreme Council would go into history as the one that proclaimed independence and let others build the state. So it would be expedient that the legislature adopts an electoral law and sets a new election date.

"Some fear that new Supreme Council will be even worse then the present, say, as if Mafia were to come. I am absolutely positive that the new composition of the Supreme Council will be more professional and market oriented. The most important thing is that the Ukrainian people should have a hope for better change. That is not a small hope, taking into account the present topsy-turvy situation."

O. Moroz, head of the Socialist Party:

"It was my proposal to put the referendum issue on the agenda, and after that I spoke with workers and peasants about this issue several times. I can also now confirm that the referendum is necessary, but the very form of it—regarding confidence in the Supreme Council and the president—is ineffective. What do we want to find out? Whether the people like the Supreme Council or not? They do not like them. This is obvious. Voters are never loyal to authorities. It is their psychology.

"As the saying goes, greed pays twice. To not return to the same problem again, we should determine, by way of the referendum, what will become of us? What should be done? Foundations of constitutional order should be defined by the following questions: Do the people want social services such as free tuition, medical care, and guaranteed employment preserved? Should the Supreme Council be maintained as the foundation of our political system or should an administrative system be established? Is the office of president even necessary? Other issues such as national symbols and the status of Russian language should also be included. The population must have an opportunity to express itself—in what country does it want to live? Finally, at the very end, the question on confidence in the legislature and the president should be considered. I took part in a 20,000 people meeting in Donetsk and, judging from the reaction of the people, I understood that they support such a point of view. The referendum should be held no earlier than November, after the harvest.

"There is such a dissent in opinions. This is natural. Political parties should differ in their points of view. However, it would be better that the legislature somehow resolves the referendum issue and discussion does not continue into late fall. We have enough problems without the referendum..."

Supreme Council Issues List of Political Parties

WS3108094893 Lvov MOLODA HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 21 Aug 93 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "News" column: "Strength of the Parties"]

[Text] Ukrainian Supreme Council's press center has issued a list of political parties registered by the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice. It appears that the largest Ukrainian party is the Socialist Party of Ukraine—100,000 members. Ukrainian Republican Party is 12,000 members strong; Ukrainian Party of Justice—10,000; New Ukraine coalition—5,000; Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party—4,000-5,000; Liberal Party of Ukraine—3,000; Democratic Revival Party of Ukraine—2,500 members. The list does not provide the number of members of the Union of Communists of Ukraine and some other parties, such as the Ukrainian Party of Beer Lovers.

Belarus

Shushkevich on Plans To Speed Up Nuclear Withdrawal

LD0109192393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1755 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk, September 1 TASS—"Only Russia has a moral right to possess nuclear weapons on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, despite their considerable scientific and technical potential, could not have created them by their own effort." Belarusian Parliament Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich said in an interview with the U.S. NBC Television Network on August 31.

According to Shushkevich, retaining nuclear weapons on the territory of Belarus is, figuratively speaking, sitting on a gun powder box and using bad matches to light a cigarette. The presence of weapons of mass destruction in Belarus poses a threat to its national security, he said. In the event of military conflicts between great powers the attacking side will always seek to suppress the adversary's points of launching nuclear weapons. During the years of the cold war enough of them have been located on the territory of Belarus making it a target for total defeat.

"It is madness to have a nuclear powder cell on the main way from Russia to Western countries," Shushkevich said. "Belarus intends to speed up the withdrawal of strategic weapons from its territory so that a nuclear-free belt in Europe extend from French borders to the borders of the Russian Federation," Shushkevich declared.

'Economic Union' Seen as Solution to Oil Supply Problem

PM3108131393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report: "Liter of Gasoline Costs 10,000 Rubles"]

[Text] There is a catastrophic oil situation in Belarus—a very acute fuel "famine" owing to the acute shortage of oil in all sectors of the national economy.

IZVESTIYA (No. 159) has already reported what restrictions on Russian gas shipments have done to Belarus: In effect, the republic's industry has been paralyzed. But troubles do not come singly, so to speak. These days the republic has effectively been left without oil resources. The Belarusian Council of Ministers Committee for Oil and the Chemical Industry describes the situation, in a word, as disastrous.

The republic consumes an average 1.5 million tonnes of oil a month. These were the shipments agreed in the Russian-Belarusian intergovernmental agreement. However, for the third month in a row Belarus has received only 600,000 tonnes. The fuel produced from this oil has virtually all been given to agriculture—undoubtedly the right decision, since the grain has to be harvested at whatever cost.

Fuel is not being given to owners of private transport at all. Speculators are now demanding 10,000 rubles [R] for a liter of gasoline. Many bus routes have been cut or axed. Dacha owners are desperate—their harvest is vanishing.

But there are not only problems with gasoline. Without oil you cannot obtain fuel for power stations. NARODNAYA GAZETA reports in alarm that the Lukoml GRES [state regional electric power station], which provides the republic with over a third of the electricity it requires, has commissioned its emergency stock of fuel oil, since only three or four tankers are arriving every day instead of the three or four trains that previously supplied the GRES with fuel oil. Even if it has enough Belarusian "hares" [zaychiki] to pay for fuel, the management of this GRES is forced to seek means of exchanging them for Russian rubles and taking the money across the border by the sackload. Fuel stocks in Minsk are totally depleted.

Why has Russia cut oil shipments to Belarus so drastically? The main reason is the same as with natural gas—Belarus' insolvency. Its tremendous clearing debt of over R100 billion. Kazakhstan is offering Belarus oil, but at world prices.

No, Russia did not pull the plug on the oil right away. In June it gave a warning—it did not pump oil to Belarus for four days. The republic does not seem to have taken this signal seriously. Everyone has now realized that, when it is a question of paying debts for oil products, you should not joke with your partners. The market is the market; it has its own, sometimes very tough, laws.

Since, as the leaders of the republic's committee for oil and the chemical industry frankly admitted to me, there is no money to pay now, Russia intends to cut oil shipments still further in September—to 400,000 tonnes. There are no stocks at depots or in reserve. The largest refineries in the CIS—the Mozyrskaya and Novopolotsk refineries—are only 20-percent occupied. Where will the gasoline and fuel come from? Republic newspapers are carrying gloomy forecasts.

The whole power generation system will naturally be transferred to a very strict economy drive. There will be hot water once a week. Today Minsk apartments only have hot water in the evenings. The republic's government does not rule out the idea that the temperature in apartments will be just 13-14 degrees this coming winter.

The oil crisis in Belarus has evoked sharp criticism of its government. The parliamentary opposition believes that it is the republic's hopeless state policy in the sphere of economic reforms, energy supply, and energy saving that has brought this situation about. The trade unions have defined their position clearly—they are pressing for a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet to urgently consider the emergency socioeconomic situation and speed up the implementation of decisions to create an Economic Union.

Zalomai Comments on Economic Union With Russia

LD3108210893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1730 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Ivan Kuksa for TASS]

[Text] Brest August 31 TASS—The documents prepared for the oncoming meeting of heads of state and government of the Commonwealth countries, contain versions of both a tripartite and bilateral economic union, Vladimir Zalomai, deputy premier of Belarus stated in Brest on Tuesday [31 August].

The deputy premier came to this frontier city together with an information group of the Belarusian Government to meet with citizens, and representatives of authorities and all branches of the national economy.

In his speech Vladimir Zalomai stressed that the destructive processes in the Belarusian economy had not yet discontinued. Their analysis brings to a firm conviction that the republic's economy will not be able to survive without close integration with the Russian economy.

After all, 70 per cent of Belarusian turnover falls on Russia. Therefore efforts of the Belarusian Government are directed at creating a close economic union. But taking into account the fact that within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States this process is going on very sluggishly, it was decided to establish such a union between three Slavic states. As a result, the Moscow statement on economic integration has been made recently.

Vladimir Zalomai also emphasised that the monetary system is still a key problem. The leadership of the republic is studying its various versions but the most advantageous one is to remain in the rouble zone.

NATO Delegation Visits Minsk

LD3108173393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1412 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Veronika Begun for TASS]

[Text] Minsk August 31 TASS—A delegation of NATO officials put up for two days in Minsk on their way to Russia and Ukraine.

The delegation consists of German Ambassador to NATO Hermann Freiherr von Richthoffen, permanent military representative in NATO's Military Committee Lieutenant-General Gerrit-Jan Folmer of the Netherlands and Deputy Assistant to the NATO secretary-general (Division of Scientific and Environmental Affairs) Dr. Paul Rambaut.

The guests studied military and political situation in Belarus, got acquainted with state officials who attended to military issues and leadership of the Belarusian Defence Ministry. They intend to use their impressions when working out NATO's military policy.

On Tuesday [31 August], they held a discussion on NATO's policies in which representatives of the Belarusian Defence Ministry, Foreign Ministry and military departments participated.

NATO Observers Monitor Reduction of Armored Vehicles

LD0109164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Leonid Tartsevskiy for TASS]

[Text] Minsk September 1 TASS—A group of NATO inspectors has registered the conclusion of the fourth phase in the agreed reduction of Caterpillar armoured vehicles at the Borisovsky tank-repairing plant. A total of 32 infantry combat vehicles and 79 tanks were rendered useless as military units during the phase.

The inspectors from France, the USA, Germany, Britain and Czech Republic are now expected to signal the beginning of the fifth phase, at which almost a hundred armoured vehicles will fall into disuse.

Confederation of Labor Holds Second Congress

WS0109143293 Minsk BELORUSKIY RYNOK in Russian No 18 93 (Signed to press 10 Aug 93) p 4

[Report by Larisa Kluychnikova: "Independent Trade Unions Are Getting Ready for Autumn Battles"]

[Text] The second congress of the Belarusian Trade Union "Belarusian Confederation of Labor" [BCL] has been held in Minsk. The BCL is a public organization and along with the democratic trade unions BNPG [expansion unknown], SPB [expansion unknown], and the Air-Traffic Controllers Union is representing that part of the working movement which is closely connected with the democratic parties.

Oleg Shakalov, a representative of the BCL Executive Council, delivered a speech in which he assessed the current situation in the Republic. He stated, in particular, that the confrontation among different political forces in the Republic is sharpening. The Supreme Soviet decision to sign the CIS collective security treaty—without taking into consideration the people's opinion—has only intensified this confrontation. The Belarusian Council of Ministers, in its turn, "lacks a program for ending the predicament." The legislative and executive branches of power represent the interests of definite Republican circles—managers on the republican and local levels, and to a lesser extent the staff of the former Communist Party. Regarding the Council of Ministers staff, Shakalov said that there are many efficient specialists in specific spheres. However, their ideas about the state economy do not correspond with current demands.

A positive fact is that the work of the democratic trade unions makes the large, and so-called official, Belarusian Trade Union Federation [BTUF] turn to ordinary people. At the same time, the BTUF unites both employers and the

employed. In the opinion of the delegates, this complicates close cooperation with the BTUF.

In the opinion of observers, the sociopolitical situation in the Republic is likely to become acute by fall. Both the political parties and the trade unions sense the need to coordinated their activities. Judging by the deputies' speeches, we can suppose that in the event that the situation in the legislature becomes too acute, the BCL is going to support the head of the legislature. The accounting report said that "Stanislav Shushkevich is the only official in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet who can somehow soften the contradictions and exclude an open confrontation in the Supreme Soviet."

The appeal "to Belarusian citizens," which was adopted at the congress, says that the confrontation of different groups and factions in the legislature has deprived the deputies of the possibility to adopt weighty decisions. The legislative majority "rejects outright the arguments of the opposition." The BCL views the consolidation of the joint efforts of all the political parties, trade unions, workers in state institutions, and the most active part of the population as the only way out of the current situation. In the BCL's opinion, the creation of a conciliation commission representing all the public organizations of the Republic could resolve the issue. The purpose of this conciliation commission would be to draft the law on elections and the principles of the creation of a government of people's trust.

The appeal says, in particular, that the preparation of the recommendations for holding the elections and the elections themselves should be conducted under international supervision. The present Belarusian Supreme Soviet could make a decision to hold early elections. In the event that these recommendations are ignored, the development of the situation could trigger the onset of conflicts, the aftermath of which are unpredictable.

Representatives of the Latvian Union of Workers, the AFL-CIO, and the Belarusian Peasant Party participated at the congress as guests.

In a word, in fall, the spectrum of Belarusian political life can be increased by one more political coalition—the congress of the democratic trade unions.

Moldova

Sangheli, Romania's Vacariou Sign Aid Agreements

LD0109225793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1920 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Morozov]

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Sep—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and Moldovan Prime Minister Andrey Sangheli, who has arrived in the Romanian capital for a visit, today signed a number of documents implementing the Romanian program of aid to Moldova.

An intergovernmental agreement was signed whereby Romania will grant a long-term loan to Moldova. An understanding was also reached on the use of a 6 billion lei fund, which is at the disposal of the Romanian Government to develop business ties with Moldova in 1993. Also signed was an agreement transforming the unpaid amount of technical credit granted to Moldova by Romania in 1991 into long-term government credit, and a protocol on supplies of fuel and mineral oils within the framework of urgent economic aid provided by Romania to Moldova.

Understandings achieved during the recent visit to Bucharest by President Snegur, and during talks with Sangheli, were given material form today, Vacaroiu stressed after the signing. Planned programs were made specific within a short time, and mutual delivery of goods will start shortly.

Sangeli pointed out that these are, in effect, the first agreements between the Governments of Moldova and Romania, the first practical steps in cooperation between the two countries. We understand that Romania, too, is not in the most favorable of situations, but we are, perhaps, in an even more serious position. We hope to resolve all the remaining problems before the end of the year and to embark on a new stage in relations.

14th Army Commander To Run in TMR Elections

MK0109132593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Dniester Region"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army, has agreed to run in parliamentary elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Transdniestrian Moldovan Republic [TMR]. Three other candidates are also contesting the vacant parliamentary seat on 12 September: a political analyst from a local news agency, an editor on TMR radio, and a representative of the Black Sea Cossacks.

"If I am elected," Aleksandr Lebed said in an interview with the 14th Army's daily SOLDAT OTECHESTVA [SOLDIER OF THE FATHERLAND] "I will never be a wedding guest invited for being a general."

It turned out that the general is eager for the opportunity to influence peace talks with Chisinau as a Supreme Soviet deputy.

Making a case for the lawfulness of his participation in the election, the Russian general remarked: "Those who consider me a foreigner are simply dopes. The one thing they will achieve is that they will come to me only with a translator from Russian to Russian."

Your NEGA correspondent was told at the TMR Supreme Soviet that the election law that has been adopted here does not prevent Russian citizens from running for office.

Gagauz Interior Chief Denies Arms Talks With Dniester

AU3108173193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0716 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 31/8/1993—Dumitru Uzun, the chief of Interior Department of the self-proclaimed Gagauzian Republic, denied the information, according to which, Stepan Topal had visited Tiraspol in order to obtain military assistance. Uzun declared to a BASAPRESS reporter, that president from Comrat "visited Tiraspol in order to see his son, who studies there and did not have any special mission." "At present Gagauzian Interior Department has enough armament," clarified Uzun.

Tajikistan

CIS Deputy Chief Views Military Aid With Rakhmanov

LD0109213793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2012 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Lieutenant General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the united Armed Forces of the CIS and a potential candidate for the post of commander of the collective forces in Tajikistan, is in Dushanbe.

As is known, the states that signed the treaty on collective security in Tashkent adopted a decision to provide military aid to defend the border of sovereign Tajikistan from aggression. It is planned to create coalition forces only for the period of the threat of external aggression.

Gen. Pyankov's group was received by Imamali Rakhmanov, Tajikistan's head of state.

[Begin Pyankov recording] The process of forming these armed forces is under way. I have come here with a small group of generals and officers in order to acquaint myself with the situation, the position, and the conditions, to study the possibilities, and to reach agreement with the leadership of the republic about where the collective defense forces arriving in Tajikistan will be stationed. [end recording]

[In a related report, Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik at 0400 GMT on 1 September notes that Colonel General Tolkunov, adviser to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, and Lieutenant General Sokolov, head of the operations group of the Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation, were also present at the meeting.]

Rakhmanov, Uzbekistan's Karimov Discuss Afghan Talks

LD0109212893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Yesterday, head of state Imamali Rakhmanov had a telephone conversation with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov.

In the course of the conversation, Karimov expressed that he, as a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, is satisfied with the results of the talks between the Tajik and Afghan leaders.

During the conversation, Imamali Rakhmanov congratulated Islam Karimov and all of the people of fraternal Uzbekistan on the anniversary of the republic's independence.

Rakhmanov Discusses Political, Military Situation

MK0109151893 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 7

["Special to KURANTY" interview with Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, by Vladimir Galaktionov of IMA-Press; place and date not given: "Imamali Rakhmanov: 'We Are Neither Communists, Nor Islamists.' Chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet on the Situation in the Republic"]

[Text] [Galaktionov] Mr. Rakhmanov, not much time has passed since the Moscow meeting of heads of state of Russia and Central Asia, but something must have already been done to stabilize the situation in the republic?

[Rakhmanov] Peacekeeping battalions of the CIS member states are being introduced in Tajikistan. The Kyrgyz battalion is stationed next to the Kazakhstani one along the border line in Gorno-Badakhshan. Uzbekistan is sending its military contingent. All this is being seen as a legitimate, juridically substantiated, and humane measure. (Our Commonwealth partners are rendering us assistance, including military aid, by way of exercising the right to collective defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter). True, I should like to add, it is a somewhat belated measure. After all, the alarming situation in the area of the Tajik-Afghan border has been public knowledge for a long time. This question even became a subject of special discussion in Minsk last January. At that time accords were reached on beefing up the CIS southern borders with the forces of the Central Asian states. That decision aroused some controversy: Some seemed to be in no hurry to send reinforcements of border guards, while others hastened to leave the new location. Not everywhere did the local population appreciate the expediency of the steps taken; in some areas it fell under the influence of the opposition. At the same time, in the current situation the presence of peacekeeping battalions in the republic is justified from the point of view of our national interests.

[Galaktionov] In contrast to other CIS republics, in Tajikistan the former Soviet troops are under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. What is the reason for this and is their status going to be changed?

[Rakhmanov] During the transition period—approximately until the year 2000—the present status of these units will be preserved. They are called upon to defend the southern borders of the CIS. As for the national armed forces, they will be formed as our own officer cadres are prepared and the economic situation in Tajikistan improves. The material and technical foundation for that is available—the military hardware, the weapons, and the immovable property of the 201st Motorized Infantry Division, which will for a certain period belong to Russia. It was this that the republic's Supreme Soviet had in mind when its 17th session passed laws on defense and on the Armed Forces of Tajikistan. The Tajik people, who for many years were part of the former USSR, did not intend to fight with anyone and therefore they did not think about

their own army and did not elaborate a military doctrine. Today, as the events of the recent years show, this has become an urgent necessity.

[Galaktionov] Is there a danger of a large-scale war emerging in the Central Asian region?

[Rakhmanov] Yes, there is. The fact is that the situation in Afghanistan's northern provinces has slipped out of control by the country's government. In each one of them there is its own ruling authority. Signs are that Kazi Kabir, commander of the 55th Infantry Division of the Afghan Defense Ministry, does not follow the ministry's orders. The situation is further aggravated by the presence of Tajik opposition leaders in Afghanistan, in particular former Vice Premier Davlat Usmon, Democratic Party Chairman Shodmon Yusup, and others. They are directly calling for aggression against their own people, and they have not a few agents at their disposal, since the recruitment of combatants from among Tajik refugees continues. It is hard to predict how the events will develop further. We are interested in peace on our borders, and the Afghan official leaders, judging by their words, are, too. I can add that we harbor no plans to make any preventive strikes against Afghan territory.

[Galaktionov] What position do you, as head of state, hold on the situation in Gorno-Badakhshan?

[Rakhmanov] The present Tajik leadership has certain difficulties in these relations. To deny this would mean to be hypocritical. It is also clear, however, that some quarters are very interested in having us quarrel seriously and for a long time. This is especially manifesting itself in the actions and appeals by emigre opposition leaders. Recently the Tajik Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on priority measures to stabilize the economic and sociopolitical situation in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. That was preceded by considerable efforts on the part of a working group of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, which went to the area. I also visited the oblast center of Khorog. The situation was urgent—the oblast needed immediate assistance. The parliament resolution provides for the extension of a long-term preferential credit of 22 million rubles to Badakhshan.

[Galaktionov] Are there any real conditions for the beginning of a political dialogue with the opposition?

[Rakhmonov] I am often asked: Why do you not sit down at the negotiating table with them? I ask in response: With whom? There is no opposition as such in Dushanbe today—all of its members are abroad. I cannot possibly negotiate with people who have been charged with criminal offenses. Today criminal cases have been opened against former Kazikolon Akhbar Turadzhonzoda, Islamic Revival Party Chairman Mokhammadsharif Khimmatzoda, Democratic Party Chairman Shodmon Yusuf, and some others. There has been plenty of talk with them as well as many attempts to reason with them since they left the country. As a republic people's deputy, I have taken part in all Supreme Soviet sessions, and I remember all the debates which they imposed on parliament (all opposition leaders were allowed into the hall—they did not vote since they had no vote but they took part in discussing the decisions to be adopted). Since those days I have seen how much destructive force they have but have seen no constructive element or creativity. Even when they joined the national accord government, what did they do for the republic, for the people? Where are these positive changes? On the contrary, with their advent to power, the country began to slip into the abyss of economic devastation and lawlessness. Nonetheless, I understand the reasonable need for a political dialogue and even compromise with moderate representatives of opposition forces. Until now this dialogue has been postponed since the wounds of war are still bleeding.

[Galaktionov] Why have a number of political parties and organizations been banned in Tajikistan—the Democratic Party, the Islamic Revival Party, the Rastokhez People's Movement, and the Lali Badakhshon Society?

[Rakhmanov] The organizations you have mentioned were banned under a decision of the Supreme Court in line with the law "On Public Associations in the Republic of Tajikistan," thanks to which, incidentally, one or two years ago they were officially registered and expanded their activity. But the same law also provides for banning those organizations that have embarked down the path of offenses against the law, extremist actions, and antistate terror, which in fact happened with these associations. The investigation and the court have established that the leaders of the Democratic Party, the Islamic Revival Party, and Lali Badakhshon took part in the state coup, provoked a civil war.... We are being reproached for violating democratic norms and infringing political freedoms. Let us look at the facts, not indulge in emotions. A month ago a new public organization appeared in the republic—the Association of Small and Medium Businesses. Before that, the Party of Free Labor was created. For almost two years various ethnic communities have been around: Russian, Armenian, Uzbek, Jewish—12 in all. No one has ever thought of banning them because their activity is of a legal, humane nature.

[Galaktionov] How do you envision the republic's future?

[Rakhmanov] We are building a law-based, democratic, secular state. Tajikistan will become neither communist nor Islamic. Moreover, I would say that it will not resemble either Switzerland or Kuwait or any other country. Tajikistan must look like Tajikistan.

Humanitarian Aid Arrives in Gorno-Badakhshan

LD0209091693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0853 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe September 2 TASS—A convoy with food, fuel and other necessities arrived on Wednesday [1 September] evening from Dushanbe in Khorog, the administrative centre of the Gorno-Badakhstan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan.

The humanitarian run has become possible due to the full restoration of the stretch of the Pamir highland road Dushanbe-Khorog that had been destroyed during the recent armed confrontation, as well as due to the fact that

government forces drove commandos of the armed opposition out of the areas adjoining the Pamir Mountains, ITAR-TASS learned from the press centre of the Tajik Government.

The lifting of the blockade of the road makes it possible to increase food aid to the Pamir population that was facing famine. This is particularly important in view of the fact that just over four weeks remain to go before the highland pass Haburabat will become impenetrable because of snow.

At a festive rally of the Khorog residents on Wednesday to welcome the arrival of the humanitarian convoy, Balkhiyer Zamirov, the chairman of the regional executive committee, spoke highly of the efforts of the central government to give urgent relief to the population of the Pamir and of measures taken to stabilise the socio-political situation in Tajikistan, including the Gorno-Badakhstan Autonomous Region.

The head of the regional administration also highly approved of the striving of the Tajikistan leaders for a political dialogue with neighbouring Afghanistan. He stressed that people in the Pamir closely followed the visit of Tajikistan head Emamoli Rakhmanov to Afghanistan and were satisfied with the results of the Tajik-Afghan talks that extend the hope for the stabilisation of the situation on the border and a prompt return of refugees home.

Turkmenistan

Russian Defense Minister Grachev Arrives for Visit

LD0109163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1556 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev left Tbilisi for Ashgabat today upon completion of his working meeting with Georgian Defence Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili. In the Turkmen capital he met with President Saparmurad Niyazov and Turkmen Defence Minister Danatar Kopekov.

The two defence ministers are expected to sign a number of earlier initialed agreements in the military sphere, including an agreement on training Turkmen servicemen in Russian military schools, an agreement on Russian citizens' serving in the Turkmen army, on the organisation of communications and mutual payments between the two Defence Ministries.

Among agreements expected to be signed there are agreements reflecting common interests in the area of military detente. A provision has been endorsed on the deployment of an operational group of the Russian Defence Ministry under the Turkmen Defence Ministry.

On September 2, Grachev is expected to fly to Tashkent where he will meet with defence ministers of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. The sides will discuss a number of issues connected with the reduction of weapons removed from Europe to the Urals before the treaty on conventional weapons and armed forcers in Europe is signed.

Military Agreements Signed

LD0209092493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0645 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Ashgabat September 2 TASS—"The way we have chosen together with Russia, which consists in concluding bilateral military agreements, is an optimum option from the point of view of ensuring Turkmenistan's security," Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov said at a press conference on Wednesday [1 September] after signing a package of agreements on cooperation in the military field.

The agreements entitle Russian citizens to serve in the Army in Turkmenistan and Turkmen officers and non-commissioned officers to study at military colleges in Russia. Besides, the parties agreed that Turkmenistan will pay for the upkeep of the Armed Forces deployed at its territory from January 1, 1994, which is tantamount to forming a national army of its own.

Russia will keep hold on certain strategic facilities in Turkmenistan, but they will be used in the interests of both countries. Russia and Turkmenistan also agreed to cooperate in the field of military reconnaisance and to form a Russian Defence Ministry's task force at the Turkmen Defence Ministry.

Turkmenistan has always considered Russia as its "defender, friend and supporter", Niyazov emphasized. The republic does not intend to join any international military blocks or alliances, but it will continue to expand cooperation with Russia, he said.

For his part, visiting Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said he would like "to see Turkmenistan join the treaty on collective security". However, one can only hail the fact that Turkmenistan as an independent and sovereign state chooses to develop all-round cooperation with Russia in military, military-and- political and military-and-technical fields, Grachev emphasized.

On Thursday, Russian military delegation will leave for Tashkent, where Grachev will meet his Uzbek and Kazakh counterparts.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Asks Karabakh Troops To Pull Back

LD0109170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1628 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Sep—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has appealed to the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh "to immediately withdraw its forward units to the previous line of demarcation" between the opposing sides. The Armenian president's statement, which was distributed this evening by his press service, notes that Yerevan attributes great importance to the cease-fire agreement reached on 31 August and believes that the upcoming dialogue between the sides represents the way forward in establishing a firm peace in the region.

The Armenian president stressed that during the process of negotiations on concluding this agreement, the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces, "while rebuffing an offensive by the Azerbaijani forces, had made counterattacks in Kubtalinskiy Rayon" in Azerbaijan.

The Armenian leader called on the Karabakh leadership to take the strictest measures against anyone violating the agreement.

Leadership Orders Withdrawal

LD0109170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1629 GMT 1 Sep 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Sep—In response to today's appeal by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh has ordered its armed forces to promptly begin withdrawing self-defense detachments from the Khodzhik-Khanlyk-Chereli line and return them to the positions previously occupied, according to Robert Kocharyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic State Defense Committee.

The statement by the Karabakh leader distributed here today says that Stepanakert fully shares L. Ter-Petrosyan's worries and his assessment of the situation, and recognizes the realism of the dialogue which has begun between Azerbaijan and Karabakh. This dialogue can and should aid the peace-making process in the region.

Karabakh is demonstrating goodwill by withdrawing its armed forces from the rayon center and more than 30 other settlements of the Kubatly rayon of Azerbaijan, the document points out. R. Kocharyan said that Stepanakert intends to strictly observe the cease-fire agreement reached on Tuesday [31 August]. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic leadership called on the Azerbaijani authorities to take the necessary measures "to prevent actions which could disrupt the positive processes which have been observed."

R. Kocharyan recalled that yesterday's agreement was reached in a situation "where the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic armed forces, counteracting an attempt by the Kubatly group of Azerbaijani troops to strike at the Gadrut rayon of Karabakh, were undertaking an operation to eliminate enemy military positions."

Fighting Updated; MI-24 Helicopter Downed

NC0109164193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the situation and the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Violent clashes have taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh over the past two days. Azerbaijan's military forces launched attacks and tried to penetrate the Armenian defense positions along the front lines between Kubatlinskiy Rayon and the southern part of the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon. However, the Azerbaijani units not only failed to achieve their objective but were forced to retreat after failing to withstand the Armenian counterattacks.

The Karabakh forces repulsed all the enemy attacks and occupied several strategically important heights close to Kubatly on 30 and 31 August. They also destroyed seven armored vehicles and shot down an enemy MI-24 helicopter. Reports said that the helicopter's crew was killed in the explosion. The Azerbaijani units lost a considerable number of men.

Azerbaijan's command headquarters used the Kurds in Kubatlinskiy Rayon as a shield. Azerbaijani units hid behind them and tried to advance. [passage omitted]

The NKR and Azerbaijan concluded a cease-fire agreement on 31 August. The NKR military units were ordered to completely suspend their combat operations immediately after the agreement was signed. The reports we received today said that the agreement is being heeded on all the frontlines. We hope that the new cease-fire agreement will not be violated and conditions for a new round of talks between the two sides will be created.

The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan remains unstable. Exchanges of fire took place in the border areas in Krasnoselskiy and Idzhevanskiy Rayons last night. Azerbaijan's military units used mortars and machine guns. No one was hurt on the Armenian side.

No significant incidents occurred on the border last night. Nevertheless, serious tension still prevails in the area.

Russian Border Guards Commander Pays Visit

LD3108155593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1137 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 31 TASS—Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Russian frontier troops and Russian deputy defence minister, is in the

second day of his working visit to Armenia. Together with persons accompanying him he will visit frontier posts to meet frontier guards.

Nikolayev told ITAR-TASS that on Monday [30 August] he visited the headquarters of "Armenia" group of Russian frontier guards troops. The activity of the group has been studied. Questions connected with enhancing its independence and possibilities of interaction with appropriate Armenian agencies were discussed.

Specific tasks of protecting Armenian state border were the central topic during the conversation with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. The interlocutors stressed that the Armenian state border is part of borders of the Commonwealth and, hence, their inviolability is guaranteed by the collective security treaty of the CIS. Nikolayev expressed satisfaction with his conversation with the Armenian president. He said that Armenian leaders, despite difficult conditions in the republic, pay much attention to Russian frontier troops deployed in the area.

Foreign Minister Discusses Relations With Turkey

NC0109153293 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 29 Aug 93 p 16

[Tigran Nazaryan report: "Papazyan: It Is Difficult for Us To Be Friends With Turkey"]

[Text] Yerevan—As long as Armenian military units continue to occupy Azerbaijan's territory and Turkey directs strong criticism at Yerevan, Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan said in a statement to HURRIYET that Armenia cannot establish friendly relations with Turkey until the Karabakh problem is resolved. He asserted:

Armenia Made an Effort

I am convinced that Armenia has done everything possible to normalize relations with Turkey. Turkey failed to respond to our goodwill gestures. It is impossible to consider establishing a positive dialogue with Turkey before the Karabakh problem is resolved or at least a durable cease-fire agreement is reached with Azerbaijan. We are trying to defuse anti-Turkish sentiments, but the Turkish Government is not responding in kind. It is impossible to recall how many reports Turkish newspapers have published against Armenia. A summit between Turkey and Armenia is not under consideration at this time.

Peace Initiatives Are Not a Useless Effort

Peace initiatives are not a useless effort. Although the Armenians in Karabakh have not accepted a peace plan, bilateral talks will be held on 30 August, that is, before the talks in Moscow on 8 September. Achieving progress through the CSCE initiative will be easier if the Azerbaijanis conclude a durable agreement with the Armenians in Karabakh.

Azerbaijan's Oil [subhead]

The question of laying a pipeline between Azerbaijan and Turkey was not discussed in the talks we had with Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin in Moscow. Reports that we reached an identity of views on Karabakh are unfounded. It is out of the question. We discussed the general situation in Karabakh with Hikmet Cetin. We differed on more points than we agreed on. Armenia does not expect to gain anything from the oil pipeline project.

No Contacts With ASALA

The statement made by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] in Beirut on 22 August to the effect that "the Armenians will not allow a pipeline to be laid in eastern Turkey because that part of the country is western Armenia's territory" is not binding on Armenia. The Armenian Government is not in touch with ASALA.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Asks U.S. To End 'Discriminatory' Acts

LD0209105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1019 GMT 2 Sep 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Natan Barsky]

[Text] Baku September 2 TASS—Azeri Acting President Gaydar Aliyev requested the U.S. leaders to strike out an item from the Freedom Act, which is discriminatory against that Transcaucasian republic. He also asked to help end the bloodshed in the protracted regional conflict.

A letter sent to Bill Clinton on Thursday [2 September] calls on the U.S. President to do his best to protect the Azeri people from the aggression and to stop the bloodshed "in the name of ideals of democracy and freedom, respect for human rights and man's main right to life".

The Azeri people, the address says, regard the act providing aid for the former Soviet republics and excluding it for Azerbaijan as the greatest injustice and glaring misunderstanding.

Aliyev Addresses National Assembly 1 Sep

NC0109194793 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televizyasi Television Network in Azeri 1624 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Address by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev to a session of the National Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] I hope that henceforth there is no need for more speeches. I want to note that the results of the referendum have been submitted to the National Assembly and today's session is exclusively devoted to examining the referendum and its results. Therefore I want to say that those wishing to speak should know that we have two interrelated problems here.

I now want to say a few words. Although these words have been said before I have to repeat them in view of statements by certain deputies and outsiders.

Elchibey's desertion of his office at a time when the Republic was in a grave situation cannot be justified in any manner. The view was expressed here that supposedly if Elchibey had remained here a civil war would have ensued. This is not so. We ourselves prevented a civil war through common effort. [passage omitted] To flee the place of struggle and war is not heroism. I stress that this is no heroism; rather, one reason most of the voters in the referendum, that is 97.05 percent, expressed no confidence in Elchibey was that for the last two and half months Elchibey was not at the helm of the Republic. [passage omitted] The referendum was the most democratic path, and we chose it. [Words indistinct] and the people expressed their free will. Therefore, I consider that the citizens of Azerbaijan—notwithstanding the grave conditions in which they were living, despite the war conditions, despite the fact that many among the population are refugees—actively participated in this referendum and expressed their free position confirming no confidence in Elchibey. I think that these figures completely reflect the existing conditions in Azerbaijan; these figures reflect attitudes toward the year-long activity of Abulfaz Elchibey, particularly toward the conditions existing late in his rule. I think, if after such an overwhelming vote by the people certain people and the organization called People's Front assume a position contrary to the people's will, the day will come when the people tell them that they are no longer the people's front. [passage omitted]

I believe that the result of the referendum held in compliance with legal norms, international practice, international law, and statehood principles is the will of the people and there cannot be any law higher than that, and according to the will of the people, according to the results of the referendum, henceforth Elchibey is no longer president. Tofik Gasymov's statement here that Elchibey remains president even if now he does not resign is just laughable. [passage omitted]

In accordance with the results of the referendum held on 29 August, Elchibey has now been deprived of his post of president of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The people have deprived him of that post, and in accordance with the Azerbaijani National Assembly's 24 July resolution, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet will continue executing the powers of the president. However, I believe that the execution of these powers will be easier now because Elchibey has been stripped of the title of president.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I want to inform you of the latest situation in Azerbaijan and express a number of views.

Of late, misfortunes abound in the ongoing war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Fizuli and Dzhebrail were lost. The Armenian Armed Forces are continuously attacking. Unfortunately, our Armed Forces are unable to resist these attacks. Regrettably, as a result of the provocative activities of certain destructive forces that reduced the level of discipline among our Army ranks and the fighting capability in certain sectors and frightened the people, the civilians and the Army units abandoned these regions without any major fighting. I want to point out that each citizen must defend the country and each citizen must be ready to sacrifice his life for the defense of the country. [passage omitted] One of the basic reasons for our reverses in these regions is that our people do not enter into fighting, do not have courage to fight, and in certain sectors the provocateurs do their work, and thus they frighten the people and make them flee; they even frighten those who want to fight and defend their country—land and homes and farms—and make them leave these places.

In recent days a tense situation has arisen in Kubatlinskiy Rayon. Now it is possible to investigate the situation because we have been holding intense consultations with the Armenian leadership, the forces in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Russian leadership. Our and their data reflect the situation differently. We are working to compare them and see to what extent each side is to blame.

Despite a very tense situation around Kubatlinskiy two days ago, I telephoned Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and informed him that Kubatly was under threat. He replied that this information was [word indistinct] and informed me that various types of Azerbaijani formations were allegedly launching offensives. Despite this, I requested that the offensive operations be stopped.

The Russian president's representative showed considerable interest in this problem while he was here and while visiting Yerevan and Khankendi [Stepanakert]. He kept in contact even when he returned from Moscow. Despite all this, tension rose sharply in Kubatlinskiy Rayon, which civilians left yesterday. We urgently sent Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov there yesterday. He is in Zangelan and he is keeping in touch with us, even at night. The people of Zangelan are in their homes. He phoned me yesterday and told me that the people of Kubatly have left their homes and that the rayon's executive leader has now moved to Zangelan and he wants to talk to me. I replied that I do not want to talk with him. I asked him how many casualties there were in Kubatly, or if any fighting took place there to warrant their flight. I am not saying that unarmed people should die, but our fighters must fight. Undoubtedly, people will get killed or injured in the fighting. This is inevitable. This is not the way to fight or defend the country.

At the same time we have received information to the effect that this or that commander of a battalion is engaged in provocation. We received information that [former Defense Minister] Rakhim Gaziyev has fled since the discussion of these problems and that suddenly you see him in [place names indistinct] or in Ganja. He was in Kubatly on 24 August. While his frequent visits to Ganja could be understood to a certain degree, I ask what he was doing in Kubatly. Certainly to stir up provocations, to make the Army units withdraw from there, in view of the fact that having been defense minister he had ties with many of the officers and soldiers; often these relations are based on ugly considerations. Our enemy is not only those who are attacking our lands, but we have enemies inside, such as Rakhim Gaziyev, Gumbatov, and others. If Ibrakhim Ibrakhimov, Tofik Gasymov, Irfan Kerimli—who addressed this session—want to know, Elchibey and you

are guilty for all this. Do not forget this. [passage omitted] The more we unite, the more we understand each other and respect each other and renounce personal interests, the faster we can extricate the Republic from this situation. [passage omitted]

The situation on the borders demands enormous responsibility from us. I can assure you that we are engaged in resolving these problems. The situation is grave. The reasons are obvious and I do not want to repeat them. Of late, I have felt this responsibility, and as you know have undertaken talks with the Armenian, Karabakh, and Russian leaders. I have set as my objective to end this war, to go to the peace talks, and conclude a cease-fire. I want to inform you that no matter what anyone says, I believe that this is the mandatory requirement of our time and I will act on this basis. We must achieve a cease-fire and go to the peace talks to be able to extricate ourselves from this situation.

I repeat, these contacts are going on with the leadership of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Afiaddin Dzhalilov, Rasul Guliyev, and Safar Abiyev are holding contacts with Nagorno-Karabakh leaders. I myself held many talks with the Armenian and Russian leadership. These contacts led to certain results. As a result of these talks and our (?efforts), Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the Nagorno-Karabakh leaders issued a statement today on a cease-fire. I have received these statements. All the views expressed in these statements are probably not in harmony with our views, however, the essence of these statements rests in that as a result of our latest diplomatic measures and contacts Ter- Petrosyan has issued the following statement. [Aliyev reads from a paper in Russian]

Here the issue is about the withdrawal of the armed formations from Kubatlinskiy Rayon. In the statement issued by Nagorno-Karabakh, it is indicated that they are going to withdraw their Armed Forces from Kubatlinskiy Rayon in the coming days and are giving assurances that they will allow the people of Kubatlinskiy to return to their homes.

Our contacts are continuing, and in the coming days talks will be held and we will be signing a new [word indistinct] cease-fire agreement within the framework of these contacts. [passage omitted]

Now we have a draft resolution and I want to present it to you. Please read:

[A chairperson reads] The decision of the Azerbaijani National Assembly on the basis of the information supplied by the Azerbaijani central referendum commission on the results of the 29 August 1993 referendum on the confidence in Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey:

1. Having heard the results of the 29 August 1993 referendum on the confidence in Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey, the Azerbaijani National Assembly notes that the referendum was held in all the rayons of the Republic in a completely democratic manner, in social harmony, and with high rate of participation. Therefore, the referendum has reiterated the loyalty of all the citizens in Azerbaijan [word indistinct] to democracy.

Therefore, the Azerbaijani National Assembly decides to take into cognizance the information provided by the Azerbaijani central referendum commission on the results of the 29 August 1993 referendum on confidence in Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey.

[Aliyev] Seventy percent of the deputies who spoke here and I already said that the result of the referendum is the highest authority and the National Assembly merely takes cognizance of this fact. I think there is no objection to the adoption of this resolution.

[From floor] No.

[Aliyev] No. But I request that the Assembly vote on it. [voting is shown on electronic boards] Yes, the resolution has been adopted. We have dealt with the first problem. A 20-minute recess is now declared.

To Seek 'Total Cease-Fire'

LD0109191693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1819 GMT 1 Sep 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 1 Sep—Geydar Aliyev has declared his intention to seek a total cease-fire in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict area and the holding of peace talks. The acting president of Azerbaijan was addressing a sitting of the National Assembly today.

Geydar Aliyev did not rule out the possibility that, in the very near future, there might be meetings at quite a high level, at which agreements would be signed to that effect. "Talks are now under way with the leadership of Armenia, the forces of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the leadership of Russia," he said.

The Azerbaijani leader stated that Abulfaz Elchibey "henceforth is not the president of Azerbaijan. Such is the will of the people, which it expressed on 29 August in the referendum on confidence in the head of state."

Geydar Aliyev also declared that he continues to exercise the presidential powers entrusted to him on 24 June by the National Assembly. In his view, "this will now be considerably easier, since an end has at last been put to the uncertainty and diarchy."

Aliyev Interviewed on Referendum, Karabakh, Russia

MK2708103093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Geydar Aliyev, parliament speaker and acting president, by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's chief editor Vitaliy Tretyakov in Baku "exactly a month ago" under "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Will Geydar Aliyev Manage To Become 'Father of the Nation'? The Master Is Back But the House Is in Disorder"]

[Excerpts] The phenomenon of a state official, even at the highest level, a parliamentary activist or a party leader turning into the Politician [capitalization as published] whose single word affects the course of events, is complex. Ideology matters the least here while much more depends on other things—experience, the knowledge of secret and obvious ways of running the state, the bureaucratic apparatus, society, and the country as a whole.

In this sense Geydar Aliyev has no match in Azerbaijan. Moreover he is also one of the key political figures in his region and in the whole of the former USSR.

Whatever explanation Geydar Aliyev might give for the reasons and the moment of his comeback to Baku, this was no accident or a simple coincidence of tragic circumstances for Azerbaijan. I think that Aliyev was sure—he will be called and he will be called at the very moment when his political opponents have no force left even to see through this return without losing face.

Our meeting with Geydar Aliyev took place in Baku exactly a month ago. For purely technical reasons the publication of this interview was delayed (although two days ago its text was updated). During this time Geydar Aliyev has said almost everything he wanted to say via Russian mass media outlets. And the corresponding services of his administration have worked perfectly in this respect. The old, proven school was making itself felt, although the people were new.

Since this interview is being published on the eve of a referendum that is to take place in Azerbaijan this Sunday [29 August], I would like to point out the following.

Geydar Aliyev as a top-class politician has the skill of saying only what he wants to say and not what is expected from him or what he should say. An absolutely tough will, with an outward mildness and impeccable politeness.

The master has returned to Baku (that was my impression from conversations with major and minor officials who are numerous in any capital) who is going to be obeyed voluntarily by those who have gotten tired of the disarray of the last few years. The master has found his house in a state of ruin, but it was he who built that house and he knows how it can be restored.

In addition, Aliyev knows that the Karabakh problem can explode any authority and destroy any charisma. Therefore he is extremely cautious although he is acting more boldly than many others. He is in no hurry to place his people in key posts, giving a possibility to representatives of the Baku elite to determine their fate themselves: Some to suffer a political demise and some to consolidate their positions near the throne of the new state leader. Aliyev knows that the first to perish are the fools, the nonprofessionals, and those who lose their head, who fuss and quickly change their allegiance from one camp to another.

In a word, about politics Geydar Aliyev knows all there is to know to make correct decisions. But what is correct and what is not correct he decides himself. Earlier, in the framework of the USSR, held fast by the rigid hoops of centralism, ideology, and military power, that was a guarantee of success. Today, when Azerbaijan has become merely one of the squares on the geopolitical chess board, success is no longer guaranteed. But in the event of success he will go down in history as the "father of the nation," which Elchibey has failed to achieve. It takes just a step to reach that—but the most difficult step.

[Tretyakov] Geydar Aliyevich, a decision has been made to hold a referendum on confidence in President Elchibey. Apparently there are two options for the development of events. If no trust is expressed, in three months new presidential elections will be held. But if Mr. Elchibey wins the referendum, what will the implications?

[Aliyev] You know that I have returned to Baku because I was asked to by the then Azerbaijan leadership, including President Elchibey, after the bloody events in Ganja. For several days I could not agree to that, but in the end I decided that the republic was in a very difficult situation, that a civil war was already in the offing. Following the subsequent actions by Abulfaz Elchibey the question was repeatedly raised at Supreme Soviet sessions, that since the president had broken the Constitution, parliament had the right to remove him from office. He has no powers but he uses his position as president. Each time I refrained from voting on this issue. Please understand: Elchibey was elected by the people.... Although now it has been proved that the elections were rigged.... But now this is history. Therefore the people themselves must decide his fate at the referendum, taking the real situation into account and proceeding from democratic principles. I raised the question of holding the referendum because if he was elected by the people, then the people should express their attitude to him. And what could this attitude be? Given what has happened in Azerbaijan in the recent period, it is quite obvious.

[Tretyakov] Therefore new presidential elections will soon be held in Azerbaijan?

[Aliyev] Under the Constitution, if the powers of the Azerbaijan president have been transferred to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, he may not have them for more than three months. Consequently, elections can be held.

[Tretyakov] But there is an idea to abolish the presidency in Azerbaijan altogether?

[Aliyev] There is such a mood. I think that this proposal is unacceptable. There must be a president and a presidential form of governance in Azerbaijan. Those who propagate this idea do not themselves understand the consequences of abolishing the presidency. So far we are not ready for a parliamentary form of government.

The parliamentary form of government presupposes some long-established traditions. They are not born by themselves. It takes strong, well-formed parties with coherent programs for action that would provide for concrete goals and tasks responding to the conditions of the time.

In retrospect, if we quickly look back at the history of parliamentary republics, we see that this process took

several decades to unfold. Various forces were born in the fire of political struggle, bright personalities, gifted political talents.... Considerable time was needed, however, for full-fledged political parties to emerge. We have only approached the stage of a multiparty system and in fact, in terms of political diversity, the state of things, the quantitative indicators can satisfy only an outside, nonprofessional observer. Today, it needs to be said, we have several dozen parties. Their programs are identical and they are headed by people who differ little from one another in their convictions and views. There are no outstanding leaders. At any rate, not so far. These parties have no requisite social base and in their majority they are close to an embryonic political model. Therefore, to think in terms of a genuinely parliamentary form of government today in our conditions is tantamount to self-deception. This is virtual ignorance of the elementary foundations of politics.

I would now like to present my final argument in this question: Political parties should reflect the interests of wide strata; the essence of their activity, strategy, and tactics should be designed to cover at least the near term. Unfortunately, we are not seeing this in our parties....

[Tretyakov] You are the first of the Azeri leaders in the recent period to have taken a risky political move—to enter a direct dialogue with the authorities of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. Do you believe this is the last chance to find a peaceful solution to the Armenian-Azeri conflict?

[Aliyev] As soon as I returned to Baku, I objectively analyzed the situation from a military point of view and tried to find peaceful ways of resolving this issue. There was a peace initiative on the part of the United States, Russia, and Turkey; UN Security Council Resolution 822 was adopted on the pullout of Armenian armed formations from the captured Azerbaijan territories; the Minsk CSCE conference on the Karabakh conflict has been working since March 1992, but never before has Azerbaijan been so actively searching for ways of using the possibilities of this organization. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh is a small region. Naturally, it is incapable of standing up to a 7-million strong republic without outside assistance. The entire world must know, however, that we do not want to fight further and therefore, the Azerbaijani military leadership has entered into contacts with the command of the Armenian formations. A three-day cease-fire agreement was reached. Then additional talks were held and the cease-fire was extended for another seven days. Perhaps we can manage to go further down this path.

[Tretyakov] Do you believe that in the near term this problem can be resolved? I am asking this question because a year ago during a meeting with President Elchibey I heard the following words from him: The conflict will be settled in six months at the utmost....

[Aliyev] It is hard for me to say what considerations Abulfaz Elchibey had in mind. He made quite a few such statements, invariably assuring that a victory would be achieved within three months. But I am not blaming him. He had no experience of government or political activity. And therefore he has to reap the fruit of his ill-considered actions.

When a parliament session discussed my election, they asked me which guarantees I could provide for the settlement of the Karabakh conflict. The answer was obvious: I am no prophet and therefore cannot give any guarantees or assurances. The issue is extremely complicated, and if it could not be resolved after five years—and moreover has only been complicated to the extreme—it is at best naive to talk about emergency measures to deal with it. At the same time, I would like to point out that further continuation of hostilities will lead to a yet more terrible tragedy for all parties to the conflict. Therefore I believe that the wisdom of the peoples will finally make itself felt.

[Tretyakov] I think that even here in Nakhichevan you have been following Russia's role in this conflict. Are you satisfied with Russia's actions?

[Aliyev] I have not made any concrete statements in Nakhichevan or anywhere else. I have been saying that this is a strategic issue: Azerbaijan must have normal, friendly relations with Russia. But recently I personally have not been satisfied with these relations. It would be a big political mistake to blame Russia for everything—first Soviet Russia and then present-day Russia. Things have not always been normal, including Russia's position in events around Nagorno-Karabakh, but I would not like to refer this to Russia as a whole. Apparently we should talk here about the attitude of particular personalities and certain structures. So naturally, there are problems and possibly there are claims. But I hope that today Russia, together with the United States and Turkey, is sincerely advocating a peaceful settlement of the Karabakh problem. Here in Azerbaijan there is a belief that Russia is holding a one-sided position. For my part, as a person bearing state responsibility, I say that we must look for ways of maintaining good relations and not harp on old disagreements.

[Tretyakov] You have on several occasions expressed regret that many Russians have left and are still leaving Azerbaijan....

[Aliyev] The greater part of my life has passed in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is characterized by its ethnic diversity. [passage omitted] I consider this process abnormal. All civilized countries are multi-ethnic. The presence of the Russian population is a major positive factor for Azerbaijan and for its future. Many Azeris were educated in Russian and there were opportunities for their children to receive instruction in Russian. I love my nation and my people but I used Russian in communicating with representatives of many ethnic groups. And that benefited me. [passage omitted]

The difficulty is that we have many refugees—their number has now increased by another 200,000 after the Armenians captured Agdam. But I think that after the war, if people return to their homes, we will be able to breathe a sigh of relief and deal with many outstanding problems.

Many are waiting to return to their lands—people are just overcome with a desire for creativity.

[Tretyakov] In Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan many are speaking in favor of a union closer than the present commonwealth. How do you relate to this problem?

[Aliyev] The formation of sovereign republics is an objective historical process. It was only the People's Front that tried to have people believe that it had won independence for Azerbaijan. This is not true. This process could hardly have been stopped but, of course, everything could have been done painlessly, in a civilized way—without conflicts, without blood. The idea about a new union is still alive. If, for instance, we talk about the former Soviet Union, it was brought about by the will of the Bolsheviks. The main initiator of that union was Russia. But an active role was played by Ukraine, Belarus, and the Transcaucasus as represented by three republics, including Azerbaijan. In this connection I adhere to this position: One should think and talk less about various unions and blocs and as far as possible work for the restoration of the lost links with neighbors. No slogans, declarations of full independence or true sovereignty can substitute for the real needs of the peoples—large and small. Where there is a desire for full-blooded interrelations, everything is being done on the basis of a very simple model—good-neighborly relations.

[Tretyakov] In Russia, as well as here in Baku, I have heard that in the recent period Azerbaijan has been strongly orienting itself toward Iran and Turkey and that the factor of religious unity is perceived as virtually a factor of national unity....

[Aliyev] Each state has its own foreign policy. Ethnic peculiarities and religion are also significant factors. I would not mix ethnic and religious feelings. These categories are not totally compatible, although in many cases some are even trying to put an equal sign between them. [passage omitted]

For over 70 years we have been almost fully isolated from our southern neighbors, and now, when the entire world is dominated by integration trends, why should we not enjoy normal relations with our neighbors? Especially since they cannot harm other states. I am talking about our relations.... [passage omitted]

Normal relations with Russia must be restored. Of course, normal relations should also be established with the United States and other great powers which have an enormous influence on the whole world. If Russia as one of such great countries reckons with U.S. interests, such small counties like Azerbaijan must surely take them into account. World politics is such a complicated thing....

[Tretyakov] At the end of our interview I would like once again to return to Azerbaijan's internal policy. The opposition, the People's Front, is not satisfied with the current course of events. And what if as a result of the referendum or after it they resort to some unconstitutional measures?

[Aliyev] I do not preclude that.

[Tretyakov] What action would you take then?

[Aliyev] Incidentally, they have already begun this. Abulfaz Elchibey imposed a state of emergency last April. He then extended it for two months. That was related to the situation on the military fronts and the internal political situation. But when the events in Ganja began, the People's Front itself started breaking the law and holding rallies, which, incidentally, were very small—usually they drew not more than 2,000 to 3,000 people. After Elchibey's flight the People's Front assembled its supporters near its headquarters and held a rally. Under the emergency rule regulations, our law enforcement bodies persistently called for tough measures to be taken against the infringers—but I resisted that. There was even a TV report of an unsanctioned rally. Today the People's Front has no popularity and public rallies are not a problem. Its members have many weapons and that could complicate the situation.

[Tretyakov] How will the economic situation in Azerbaijan be developing in the near future, or, to be more accurate, what will be the government's actions?

[Aliyev] The economy is extremely weak. The majority of plants and factories are idle. Whole industries are operating unsteadily; there is an acute shortage of managerial and technical cadre. In their time they ensured the republic's dramatic advance. Economic links have been cut. We have to act in virtually all directions. Where economic reforms are possible, even if radical ones, they must be promoted. But it is also necessary to use the former economic potential based on common sense. So much harm has been done already but some people are advocating various jumps and leaps forward. I oppose this: It is necessary to unravel the tight knot of the crisis gradually, set course for an evolutionary and not a revolutionary path of development, a transformation strategy.... Very often we hear appeals to step up the creation of a market economy. And many are just misleading themselves and those around them by saying that we already have a market economy. Here I am inclined to believe that we only have a primitive bazaar. How is it to be transformed into a market? This is the question. [passage omitted]

[Tretyakov] Have you scheduled any trips been in your new capacity?

[Aliyev] I have not as yet made any such plans. I am attending exclusively to internal problems. On the one hand the war, almost a million refugees on our land; and on the other, lawlessness and the existence of illegal armed formations. All these problems must be addressed but the people believe me and this is the main thing. And therefore I think that I will justify the trust of my compatriots and lead the country to stability.

Azeri Embassy Urges 'Tough Sanctions' on Armenia

LD0109145393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The Azeri Embassy in Moscow called upon the world community to apply tough sanctions against Armenia. In a statement released on Wednesday [1 September], the Azeri representation said

Armenian tank columns seized the town of Dzhebrail after fierce fighting on Tuesday. Armenian troops encircled the town of Zangelan and are now continuing an assault on the town of Kubatly. Thus, "over 20 per cent of Azeri territory are presently occupied", the Azeri Embassy in Moscow reported in its statement.

The document goes on to say Armenia "is seeking to involve into the conflict the states bordering on Azerbaijan. Tens of thousands of civilians, including women, children and old people, are being driven to the Iranian border. Some facts of Armenia shelling Iranian territory have been reported". Further escalation of the conflict may bring about "world-scale upheavals and conflagration, which will transcend far beyond Azerbaijan's boundaries", the statements stressed.

Army Builds Up Defenses Against Armenian Forces

LD0109131993 Tehran IRNA in English 1203 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Khoda Afarin, East Azarbaijan Prov. Sep. 1, IRNA—The Azerbaijan Army has transferred military equipments to battlegrounds in southwestern parts of the republic in order to beef up its defence capacity against Armenian forces.

According to IRNA here, for the first time Wednesday [1 September], a cargo train, carrying military equipments including munitions, tanks and personnel carriers, was seen going westward. Later, the report added, a passenger train was also seen going towards southwestern part of the republic.

It is believed that the train was sent to the area to carry foodstuff and take the refugees away from the battlefield as Armenian forces have escalated attacks on the two cities of Kobadli and Zangilan.

Azerbaijan helicopters were also seen today flying over border areas.

Kubatlinskiy Retreat, Zangelanskiy Shelling Noted

NC0209081193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Analytical Information Center's communique is as follows:

The Armenian Armed Forces maintain their attack on Kubatlinskiy Rayon. Unable to resist the superior enemy forces, our fighters were forced to retreat from Kubatlinskiy Rayon the night before last.

The situation in Zangelanskiy Rayon is tense. Its border areas are being systematically shelled by artillery from Armenia.

State Secretary on Need for Presidential Elections

NC0109140893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1106 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Baku 01.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—According to Azerbaijani Constitution our Republic is presidential, and naturally there must be presidential elections in the nearest future, State Secretary of Azerbaijan Lala Gadzhiyeva said at the press conference, organized for foreign journalists. Milli Mejlis [National Assembly] is going to discuss it one of these days. And after elections of a new president, according to Constitution of Azerbaijan there will be held parliamentary elections on the basis of political pluralism and democracy. Asked if political parties will be canceled as recently Premier Suret Guseynov said, the state secretary answered: We chose democratic way of development, we are civilized state and therefore activity of political parties will not be stopped. We shall create all conditions for their activity, especially in the period of parliamentary elections. We want them to be held on the multiparty basis. Asked about Abulfaz Elchibey the state secretary said that Elchibey has done much in the beginning of national movement, leading it. I personally respect him, Gadzhiyeva stressed.

[Yerevan SNARK in English at 1024 GMT on 1 September transmits a report on Gadzhiyeva's 31 August news conference that adds the following: "Lala Gadzhiyeva told journalists that no Azerbaijani refugees are on the territory of Iran."]

Early Presidential Elections Set

LD0209065293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0552 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Baku September 2 TASS—Early presidential elections will be held in Azerbaijan on October 3, according to a decision of the republican parliament adopted by Wednesday midnight.

70-year old acting President Geydar Aliyev will be able to run as lawmakers abolished the existing age limitation of 65.

Another amendment to the election law says that citizens over 35 years of age can run for presidency.

This will be the third presidential election in Azerbaijan. Current president Abulfaz Elchibey received a non-confidence vote from an overwhelming majority of the population at the August 29 referendum and Aliyev announced that Elchibey no longer governs the country.

The parliament also appointed two key ministers. Gasan Gasanov, 53, who was permament representative of Azerbaijan at the United Nations, became the foreign minister. He was prime minister in the government of former president Ayaz Mutalibov.

Major-general Mamedrashi Mamedov, 51, was appointed the defence minister. An afghan war veteran, he graduated from the Leningrad Military Academy of the Rear and Transport.

The lawmakers also o'kayed to bring criminal charges against former defence minnister Ragim Gaziyev who is accused of organising political provocations, involvement in the surrender of the town of Shusha in Karabakh and of the Lachin corridor connecting it with Armenia, as well as in the recent events in the south of Azerbaijan where armed opposition had staged a rebellion.

Elchibey Does Not Recognize Referendum Results

LD0109191893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1755 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 1 Sep—"I do not recognize the results of the referendum on confidence in me and will use all possible methods to eliminate its consequences." These are words from the statement by President Abulfaz Elchibey, read by one of his supporters at a session of Azerbaijan's National Assembly this evening.

Elchibey claims that "holding a national vote when a state of emergency remains in force in the republic is unlawful." He also emphasized that according to the information he has, "various violations were allowed during the referendum," but he did not give specific details.

Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan, called this an unworthy statement, but the parliament chairman also pointed out that Elchibey had helped the democratic movement in Azerbaijan and suggested that he had made the statement "most likely under pressure from his entourage".

New Appointments to Cabinet of Ministers Made

LD0209101693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Significant cadre changes in the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic, proposed by Acting President Geydar Aliyev, were put into effect at a session of Azerbaijan's National Assembly that finished late on 1 September. The economist (Samed Sadykhov) was elected first deputy prime minister and minister for economics. The writer (Elchin Efendiyev) becomes deputy prime minister for culture, and Azerbaijan's former representative at the United Nations, Gasan Gasanov, becomes foreign minister. Also, 53-year-old Major General (Mamedrashi Mamedov) was appointed defense minister. Lidiya Rasulova, the former head of Azerbaijan's Council of Professional Trade Unions, was appointed education minister, and a former head of the republic's State Bank [Gosbank], Galib Agayev, becomes president of the National Bank.

Request for Arrest of Former Defense Minister Detailed

NC0209104393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0956 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 02.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—General Prosecutor of Azerbaijan Ali Omerov demanded that MPs give sanctions for arrest of ex-Minister of Defence Rakhim Gaziyev. Rakhim Gaziyev deprived earlier of the MP status is accused of the surrender of Shusha and Lachin in May, 1992, and also of the attempt to proclaim the so-called Talysh-Mugan republic. Yesterday evening Geydar Aliyev said the at [as received] the MM [Milli Mejlis] session that R. Gaziyev had visited Kubatly shortly before its seizure by the Armenian.

To your reference: Till Rakhim Gasan Ogly Gaziyev joined the APF [Azerbaijani People's Front] he worked a teacher at the department of higher mathematics in the Azerbaijani engineering and building institute. Starting 1989 he became one the APF leaders. From February to September, 1990, he was in Lefortov prison at the accusation of mass disturbances in Baku. After his release he was elected the MP. From March, 1992, to February 1993 he took the office of the defence minister. He was one of those who forced President Elchibey from power and sharply criticized him at Milli Mejlis sessions.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Refuses To Participate in Parliament Session

NC0109135093 Yerevan SNARK in English 0859 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi, September 1 (SNARK)—A regular session of Georgian parliament is to take place tomorrow. Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze refused to participate in the parliament work. Speaking at a parliament session recently the leader accused Georgian MPs of "wasting the time and inertia".

It was intended that a new Georgian council composition would be ratified by the end of the last week. However, the deputies just were accusing one another, and at last proposed to introduce a state of emergency in the Republic to which Eduard Shevardnadze referred as "an absurd because of absence of new government".

"I refuse to participate in the next parliament session. Cut me out of discussions on new ministers council composition".

Heads for Megrelia

NC0209094793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0833 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi, September 2 (SNARK)—Eduard Shevardnadze has left for the western Georgia to get acquainted with the situation existing in Megrelia. It is expected that the Georgian leader will meet with the Gamsakhurdia's supporters, press-service of the Georgian head told SNARK.

The deputies were waiting for the speaker in vain. The parliamentaries and the press-service of the parliament knew nothing about the place of Shevardnadze's presence. The deputy David Kupreishvili suggested creation of the

parliamentary commission to leave for Megrelia. Nobody knew Eduard Shevardnadze is already on his way to the western Georgia.

Russian Defense Minister Grachev Arrives in Tbilisi

LD0109092193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0906 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Tbilisi September 1 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev arrived on Wednesday for a working visit in Tbilisi. He was met at the airport by Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsiya, Parliament Speaker Vakhtang Goguadze, Defence Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili and other officials.

Negotiations on military problems began immediately upon the arrival of the Russian military delegation in the residence of the head of the Georgian state, Eduard Shevardnadze.

Talks focus on the status and timeframe of the stay in the Georgian territory of the group of Russian forces in the Transcaucasia and their numerical strength. The question of setting up Russian military bases on the Georgian territory and cooperation of the two states in the defence may also be discussed.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD0109121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1113 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Tbilisi, 1 Sep—Our meeting with the Russian defense minister proceeded in a pleasant atmosphere and became an important landmark in the restoration of good-neighborliness between Georgia and Russia. Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the republican parliament, told journalists today. Mutual understanding was reached on many issues and foundations were laid for signing an interstate treaty as soon as possible and for settling relations between Russia and Georgia on political, economic, and military issues.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev also expressed satisfaction with the talks. We worked out principles for the deployment of the Russian troops in Georgia, he said to journalists. This, and in particular we worked out the question of the duration of their stay, military training, movement, social protection for the personnel, and their safety. We reiterated our mutual wish to sign a major treaty between Russia and Georgia, so as not only to restore but also to improve the good relations that had been established between our countries over the centuries.

Pavel Grachev also said that during talks they discussed the defense of Georgian borders and how to preserve their "transparency" with Russia. They reached a mutual understanding on the expediency of leaving three Russian subunits in Tbilisi, Batumi, and Akhalkalaki. In conclusion the Russian defense minister made it clear that the theme of the talks was not only military. "The most important thing," said Pavel Grachev, "is that now I think that when peace returns to Georgia we will be able to sign the main treaty between our state very soon after that."

Prime Minister Views Talks

LD0109120793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1116 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military news analyst Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Tbilisi September 1 TASS—"We believe that Russian troops should stay on here without fail," Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday [1 September] in an exclusive interview.

"We should determine their status and the forms of their stay—as separate garrisons and military bases," he said. According to the prime minister, these matters were due to be discussed at talks between Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze and Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev who had arrived here earlier in the day.

For his part, Tedo Dzhaparidze, the Georgian leader's adviser on national security affairs, told ITAR-TASS as follows: "To me personally, it is already gratifying that the Russian side is ready for serious talks on the status of its troops on the territory of Georgia".

Dzhaparidze is of the opinion that "until recently all talks on that score were of formal nature". The very formulation, suggested by Pavel Grachev, of the question of the stationing of Russian troops in Georgia at bases is a step forward. This question may become the subject of the talks," Dzhaparidze said.

During a one-on-one meeting in the earlier part of the day, Shevardnadze and Grachev discussed a wide range of matters concerning Russian-Georgian relations in the military field.

Representatives of Georgia are expected to meet with the entire Russian delegation in the afternoon.

Later in the day Grachev is planning to leave by air for Ashgabat.

Leaders Meet Visiting Russian Security Official

LD0109155293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Late on 31 August Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, received Andrey Nikolayev, first deputy security minister of the Russian Federation, and the persons accompanying him. Their conversation touched on the functions of the temporary Russian border troops located in Georgia and their participation in the process of forming the relevant Georgian army units.

Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, Defense Minister Gia Kharkarashvili, Vladimir Zemskiy, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, and other officials participated in the meeting.

Nikolayev Arrives in Ajaria

LD0109192693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1715 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Batumi, 1 Sep—The new commander of Russian border troops, Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, arrived in the capital of Ajaria (autonomous republic within Georgia) today. He told journalists at the airport that he intends to settle the issues related to the operations of Russian border units stationed here jointly with the republic's leadership.

Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ajaria, said that the Russian troops' stay in the republic—including the border guards—is a guarantee of stability. "There can be no talk of their withdrawal from the region," Abashidze emphasized.

Georgian Military Equipment Loaded on Russian Vessel

LD0109135893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that at 1130, Georgian military equipment that is to be taken out of Abkhazian territory began being loaded on to a large Russian amphibious warship in the port of Sukhumi.

Abkhazians Deporting Georgians From Territory

LD0109155593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1401 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By GIA for TASS]

[Text] Sukhumi September 1 TASS—A relative calm set in the zone of Georgian-Abkhazian conflict on Wednesday [1 September]. Field engineers are busy demining roads and front-lines and annihilating the explosives.

At the same time, Abkhazian armed units continue to forcefully deport Georgians from the territories under their control, unofficial sources say. Over 200 Georgians were forced to leave their homes in Gagra, Gudauta and Pitsunda over the past three days.

Abkhazia Presents Statement on Ukraine Volunteers

PM3108132993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 2

[Ivan Sergeyev report: "For What Ideals Did the Ukrainian Guys Fighting in Ochamchira Die?"]

[Text] Abkhazia—Not so long ago the mass media, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, reported that the funerals had taken place in Lvov of two Ukrainians who had fought in Abkhazia as part of the Georgian Army.

Some time later the relatives of yet another of the fallen arrived in Tbilisi from Lvov Oblast to bring his body back home.

So for what ideal did Ukraine's boys lay down their lives in battle against the Abkhazians?

At a Joint Commission sitting, the Abkhaz side presented a statement on Ukrainian citizens' activities on Abkhaz territory to Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian section of the Joint Commission for a Settlement in Abkhazia; Zhuli Shartava, head of the Georgian delegation; and Major K. Selby, head of the group of UN observers. Among other things, the statement mentions that according to the most recent information received there is a group of Ukrainian mercenaries numbering up to 20 men in the city of Sukhumi mining certain buildings and premises. Their activities include setting mine traps in wall sockets, electrical appliances, and doorways.

The statement goes on to say that the Ukrainian battalion in Abkhazia was formed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist Forces (OUNF). Personnel recruitment is being carried out by the so-called "Center" located in Kiev (16 Shevchenko Street). The "Coordinating Headquarters" (Kiev, telephone 226-02-47) headed by Colonel Slyusarev, representative of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, undertakes to supply equipment, arms, and the official paperwork.

A battalion of Ukrainian mercenaries is stationed in the city of Ochamchira. Battalion Commander Sergey Stakh, a native of Western Ukraine who graduated from the Ryazan Airborne Troops Training School, took part in combat activities in the Dnestr Region. The Ukrainians' distinguishing mark is a red band displaying a trident and the inscription "OUNF."

The statement stresses that servicemen in the battalion hold the opinion that by taking part in the war with Abkhazia on Georgian soil "they are fighting Russia." The Ukrainian servicemen claim that the OUNF is opening a whole host of recruitment centers thanks to which the battalion expects to be reinforced very soon, and its strength will comprise around 1,000 men.

After reading the statement, the Georgian side assured Joint Commission members that as of that moment all Ukrainian volunteers had left Georgian territory. And with this the discussion of the said problem ended.

But a few days later Georgian television showed a discussion between Jaba Ioseliani, deputy of the Georgian parliament and leader of the armed "Mhedrioni" organization, and Ukrainian Battalion Commander Sergey Stakh in which the latter expounded with extreme candor the aims and objectives of his unit, which, he explained, had not left and does not intend to leave Georgia.

Subsequently the Russian Foreign Ministry sent a note informing the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry that the Russian side has information indicating that the OUNF is preparing to send new subunits to Georgia to participate in combat activities against the Abkhazians. Furthermore, Aleksandr Yakhovenko, Russia's charge d'affaires ad interim in Georgia, prsented a note verbale on thisin Tbilisi to Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze. However, the latter's response to this was that he is allegedly not at fait with these incidents.

Meanwhile 19 August this year Georgian radio and television again broadcast an interview with three OUNF representatives who had fought on the Georgian side. According to a statement by one of them—Anatoliy Lukyanchenko, deputy of the Ukrainian National Assembly—all the Ukrainian gunmen came to Georgia of their own free will for the purpose of offering "fraternal assistance to Georgia against the imperialist policy of Russia." In his words, the Ukrainian people will never again reconcile themselves to "Russia's aggression" wherever it may occur, and they will take up arms against "the patronizing policy of the Kremlin." If need be, OUNF gunmen will fight in Moscow itself. According to Lukyanchenko, those Ukrainians who died fighting in Abkhazia are to be considered national heroes of Ukraine.

Russian military observer Lieutenant Colonel Vyacheslav (?Pochichikin) called in at the dining quarters of the 24th Infantry Brigade of the Georgian Armed Forces on the eastern front of the city of Ochamchira, where, as we know, the rival sides are observing a cease-fire agreement although they have not vacated their combat positions. Some 40 Ukrainian gunmen were seated at table. "Damned Russkies..."—he heard murmured behind his back. And when the commander of the Ukrainian volunteers entered the building, they stood up at once and in unison offered prayers before sitting down to begin their meal.

This was 23 August.

Finally, all facts used by me in preparing this item are confirmed by documents in the Russian Federation Security Ministry and the Russian Foreign Ministry.

'Large-Scale' Offensive Against Zviadists Threatened

LD0109135993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to today's report from the press service of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet, the cease-fire agreement is being observed on all fronts in Abkhazia. However, there has been another delay, the fourth one, in the implementation of the schedule for Georgian troop withdrawal from Abkhazia. This time, according to the Georgian side, the delay is caused by events in western Georgia. The loading of a Russian large amphibious warfare ship has been delayed because Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters are blockading the town of Poti. The former president's supporters have declared an all-around mobilization in Zugdidskiy, Senakskiy, and Abashskiy rayons in the west of the republic, an INTERFAX correspondent has been told at the press center of Georgia's Interior Ministry. Some 300 machine guns captured by Zviadists in the town of Senaki on 28 August are being distributed among people who have never before borne weapons.

Meanwhile General Vashakidze, who is in charge of the military operation to lift the railway blockade in western Georgia, issued an ultimatum to the Zviadists, threatening to launch a large-scale military operation against them unless the railways are freed. The operation to lift the blockade has already been drawn up.

In his turn, Georgian Interior Minister Khachishvili said that everything is ready for the start of the operation and that it only remains for the republic's leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, to issue an order.

Curfew Declared in Senaki 1 Sep

LD0109142593 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1040 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Senaki, 1 Sep—Today an IBERIA correspondent telephoned Akaki Eliava, commandant of the town of Senaki and the leader of one of the unofficial armed formations supporting the former president. He said that most of the members of his armed unit were local residents and that is why their entry into Senaki weas met with enthusiasm. Combatants of the so-called National Guard took General Butskhrikidze hostage. Akaki Eliava said that although much blood has been spilled in Semegrelo, the general has not been either physically or morally abused. After his release, the general said that he would return to Samegrelo as an ordinary citizen.

Akaki Eliava also stressed that it is calm in Senaki. The approach roads to the rayon are controlled by combatants under his command. The Samtredia highway is controlled by Mkhedrioni, while the road to Poti is controlled by the Georgian Armed Forces.

Akaki Eliava said that no one has approached him for talks, nor had anybody issued an ultimatum. He said that if any representative of the de facto authorities or a group from the Georgian Parliament want to visit the town for talks with him, he will order all armed units in Senaki to return to barracks. (Akaki Eliava also pointed out that he would never agree to any talks with Mkhedrioni, because Mkhedrioni has caused "lots of bloodshed in Samegrelo.")

Finally, Akaki Eliava stated that his main objective is to restore the legitimate authorities in Georgia. He will fulfil his military mission, while making important political decisions is within the competence of his immediate commander, Vakhtang Kobalia, the commander in chief of the so-called Georgian National Guard.

A curfew was declared in Senaki today.

Gamsakhurdia Followers Threaten Rayon Officials

LD0109163993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] According to the intelligence and information service, on 31 August the former president's supporters put forward an ultimatum to the representatives of Mingrelia rayon's official authorities, administrators, procurators, police chiefs, and employees of the intelligence and information service. They are demanding these officials cut all links with the official authorities; they are also banning bank and financial transactions in order to use themselves the funds available in the rayon banks.

The deadline of the ultimatum was 1300 on 1 September.

According to Rudik Tsatava, the administrator of Gali, an ultimatum was sent to him demanding that he make a statement recognizing Gamsakhurdia's legitimate authority, otherwise, a group of 500 people will occupy the territory of Gali. Such a move, according to Rudik Tsatava, will exacerbate and endanger the situation in Ochamchire, Tkvarcheli, and other regions.

Gamsakhurdia Urges Tightening Poti Blockade

LD0109204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2028 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi September 2 TASS—Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia has urged his supporters to tighten the blockade of the port city of Poti and cut off the entire region to prepare it for his arrival, according to reliable sources in Groznyy.

Gamsakhurdia has also demanded that his supporters do not engage in any form of dialogue or talks with "the present government" and stop financial and banking operations with Tbilisi, including cash transfers.

The demands have been made known to state officials of all levels who have been urged not to obey the present government.

Reports coming from Groznyy, the capital of the independence-seeking Chechen Republic, say that all units of Gamsakhurdia's supporters have been ordered to stay alert and be ready to begin combat activities.

Situation in West 'Remains Tense'

LD0109165493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1632 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi September 1 TASS—The situation in western Georgia where rebels seized three towns on Sunday [30 August] remains tense, according to the GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY.

One of the rebel leaders, Akaky Eliava, said that "supporters of (fugitive president) Zviad Gamsakhurdia did not and do not block the railway or the highway in the Senaki and Abasha Districts. They will let pass any trains or automobiles going to Tbilisi, Poti or Sukhumi, with the exception of military hardware and ammunition."

Eliava said that rebels would also ensure safety guarantees for all types of transport means in the zone under their control.

Chief Military Adviser Appointed

LD0109170593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Following the order by the commander in chief of the Georgian Armed Forces, Major General Valerian Kvaraia has been appointed head of the Military and Analytical Department, chief military adviser of the Georgian Armed Forces.

Shevardnadze Replaces Socioeconomic Committee Head

AU0109175293 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 25 Aug 93 p 1

["Directive of the Georgian Head of State on the Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Socioeconomic Information Committee"]

[Text] **To release Leri Gigenishvili** from the post of chairman of the Republic of Georgia Socioeconomic Information Committee following his transfer to other work.

[Signed]**E. Shevardnadze**
[Dated] **Tbilisi, 23 August 1993.**

Directive of the Georgian Head of State on the Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Socioeconomic Information Committee

To appoint Ioseb Gogodze as acting chairman of the Republic of Georgia Socioeconomic Information Committee.

[Signed] **E. Shevardnadze**
[Dated] **Tbilisi, 23 August 1993**

Shevardnadze Directs Creation of Single Protocol Service

AU0209080493 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 24 Aug 93 p 1

["Directive of the Georgian Head of State on the Creation of a Single Service for Republic of Georgia State Protocol"]

[Text] The creation of an independent Georgian state, its entry into the broad international arena, and the rapid development of relations with foreign countries make it necessary to strictly and consistently uphold diplomatic protocol in accordance with universally recognized norms. In order to coordinate this activity:

1. To create a single service for Republic of Georgia state protocol and ratify its structure.

2. To entrust Giorgi Gorgiladze, Republic of Georgia deputy minister of foreign affairs, with fulfilling the functions of chief of the Single Service for Republic of Georgia State Protocol.

To entrust the following persons with fulfilling the functions of deputy chiefs of the Single Service for Republic of Georgia State Protocol:

Roland Beridze—chief of the Diplomatic Protocol Administration of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

Otia Sokhadze—head of the Foreign Delegation Service Sector in the apparatus of the Georgian Parliament;

Giorgi Janjghava—head of state protocol in the apparatus of the Georgian head of state.

3. To entrust the Single Service for Republic of Georgia State Protocol and its leaders with full responsibility for consistently upholding diplomatic protocol in accordance with universally recognized norms.

4. The written instructions of the Single Service for Republic of Georgia State Protocol concerning questions connected with the reception of high-ranking foreign guests and the organization of visits to foreign countries by the chairman of the Georgian Parliament-head of state, parliamentary delegations, the prime minister and his deputies, and the minister of foreign affairs are binding for all departments, organizations, and individual officials in the republic.

5. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Foreign Affairs (A. Chikvaidze), in coordination with interested departments, is to elaborate and submit for ratification a draft of measures aimed at implementing to the full this directive.

[Signed] **Eduard Shevardnadze**
[Dated] **Tbilisi, 18 August 1993**

Estonia

Laar Notes 'Good Sign' of Russian Withdrawal From Lithuania

WS0209073493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1914 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Tallinn, August 31—Estonians celebrate with Lithuanians as last Russian soldiers leave the Baltic state, Prime Minister Mart Laar told a news conference in Tallinn interpreting it as a good sign for Estonia and Latvia.

"In our souls we definitely celebrate with Lithuania," Laar said.

A major contribution to Russia's decision to pull out its last military was the Baltic presidents' and premiers' meeting at Jurmala, Latvia, last week, he said while adding that he saw it as a positive sign for both Estonia and Latvia.

"The appeal to the United Nations and pressure from the United States made Russia speed up its troop pullout from Lithuania," Laar said.

Troop pullout from Lithuania does not mean that international organizations remove from their agenda military withdrawal from Estonia and Latvia, Laar stressed.

"Russia has still no political decision on troop pullout from Estonia," Laar said. "Whether troop pullout from Lithuania influences Estonian-Russian negotiations, depends foremost on Russia," he added.

Russia Fails To Hand Over Sea Safety Equipment

LD0109165393 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Russia has violated an agreement with Estonia by failing to hand over all the property from the naval hydrography safety at sea service. According to (Vaido Kraav), deputy director general of the Waterways Department [words indistinct].

According to the agreement, the hand over of the Russian Hydrography Service's property located in Estonia was due to be completed by 1 September. The document was signed by Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, and Estonian Roads and Communications Minister Andi Meister, on 3 August in Tallinn. In view of the fact that part of the Hydrography Service's property has not been handed over, Estonia is unable to ensure full safety at sea.

Large Batch of Grain Exported This Year to U.S.

WS3008142193 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1321 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Neptun Agricultural Group of the US and Estonia's Agritek signed a record over this year agreement on exports of Estonian grain.

Under the deal, the Estonian firm will purchase in Estonia and supply to international markets, essentially to European countries, 31,000 tons of rye and 80,000 tons of grain fodder. If successful, the deal may considerably relax the challenges faced by Estonian grain producers who got a free hand after the state orders have been lifted.

The grain will be purchased via facilities of the former State Grainery enterprise to be then sold rail-bulked to Argitek.

The per ton price for rye will be 787.5 or 730 kroons depending on quality with 730 kroons for grain fodder.

In addition, Agritek plans to purchase some 15,000 of food wheat at 1,102.5 kroons per ton.

Agreement Concluded

WS3008140393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0800 GMT 30 Aug 93

[From 30 August ARIPAEV, p 3]

[Text] Monday, August 30—An agreement on exporting Estonian grain was concluded in Tallinn last Thursday [26 August], Director of the company "Agritek" Peeter Rebane announced. The company "Balti Agroeksport" will export 31.000 tons of rye and up to 30.000 tons of grain fodder to the US. The American partner, "Mecca Enterprises", is a world-wide grain trade firm. The grain will be purchased in Estonia by the "Agritek". Rebane expressed hope that the deal may help to solve the problem of excess grain in Estonia.

Finland's Defense Minister Visits Tallinn

WS3108105693 Tallinn-ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1849 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Tallinn, August 30—Finland's Defence Minister Elisabeth Rehn who also heads her country's Islands Issues Board visited Tallinn on Monday [30 August] to participate in the Estonian-Finnish islands co-operation seminar.

"Finland wants to help Estonia in developing islands' infrastructure," Rehn told a news conference. Finland could help Estonia in cleaning the pollution caused by the Soviet military, Rehn said. Cleaning the islands of mines, however, is too expensive and requires international investments, Rehn added. Finland could help Estonia in finding out the extent of pollution and in drawing up cleaning programmes.

Rehn met Estonia's Prime Minister Mart Laar and Defence Minister Juri Luik. Finland's Defence Minister invited her Estonian counterpart for a visit to Finland.

Estonian-Finnish defence co-operation should proceed, Rehn said while adding that Estonian officers have the possibility to study at Finland's military college and the Territorial Force Academy. Finland can offer no such possibilities to Latvian and Lithuanian military because of the language barrier.

Estonian and Finnish languages both belong to the Finno-Ugric language group and most Estonians can speak Finnish.

The Baltic countries should co-operate in defence issues to save money and be more operative, Rehn said.

Rehn also said she held negotiations with her Russian counterpart who informs Finland of the relocation of the military withdrawn from Eastern and Central Europe. Some of the military withdrawn from Estonia have been relocated in Karelia near Finland's border, Rehn said.

Border, Visa Controls Tightened Ahead of Pope's Visit

WS0209101693 Tallinn BNS in English 1531 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Tallinn, Sept 01, BNS—Estonian authorities further tightened their visa restrictions at the country's borders in anticipation of a visit by Pope John Paul II next week, said the director general of the Migration Department, Andres Kollist.

"In the Sept. 1-10 period, only ethnic Estonians, Estonian citizens and their family members can obtain visas on the border," Kollist said. "Exceptions may be made for people coming to Estonia for funerals."

The temporary regulations also suspend transit visas for trucks entering between Sept. 8 and Sept. 10. "We will make an exception for the Port of Tallinn, but will step up control over issuing visas there," Kollist said.

The Migration Department asked the Foreign Ministry also to restrict issuing visas in its eastern consulates and to establish tighter control over the procedure there until after the pope's visit.

The Migration Department today arranged started a round-the-clock watch in its office.

Proceedings of 31 Aug Government Session Detailed

WS0109145193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0949 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From 1 September RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, p 1]

[Text] Wednesday, September 1—Yesterday's government session decided to close down the short-wave transmitter at Laitse which was broadcasting foreign-language programmes of the Estonian radio. Prime Minister Mart Laar explained it to the news conference with the age of the transmitter and lack of money. The sums saved will be used for restarting the Russian-language broadcasts on medium waves.

The future of the arrested Kurds will be decided after the analyses will be completed. The government allocated money from the reserve fund for feeding and guarding the illegal immigrants. The Justice Ministry is to prepare the amendments to the legislation enabling to establish an internment camp. Welfare Minister Marju Lauristin explained that the rumours of plague had been started by the Kurds themselves and added that the medical services have been prepared for a real threat, should that be necessary.

The government decided to allocate 40 million kroons for establishing the state grain reserve. The reserve should reach 180 million tons in the future and is to be administrated by the State Granary.

The government amended the order of price regulation. The necessity for central price regulation has diminished since the Riigikogu has approved the law on competition, the government announced. The enterprises will have to inform the pricing Department of intended price changes but the number of prices to be coordinated with the department has been reduced.

The government continued the discussion of the official poverty level. Marju Lauristin explained that the poverty level will be determined as to one family member per month and it will be set by the local welfare departments. The government is to regulate the poverty level twice a year.

The government decided to reduce the corporate income tax, Laar announced yesterday. The rate of income tax will be set alongside with the formulation of the national budget for 1994 and the personal income tax may fluctuate as well, he said. The draft law on income tax will be ready next week, Laar told the news conference.

A new agreement is to be signed by Estonia and Russia in the near future. The agreement is to concern the protection and use of fish resources of the lakes Peipsi, Pihkva and Lammijarv.

The state-owned fuel company "Eesti Kutus" will not be granted any more extension for the repayment of its debt to the former Tartu Commercial Bank, Laar announced. Unless the company will pay the 90 million debt by September 9, the North Estonian Bank will take over its property. But Laar added that this courses of action would be extreme and expressed a hope that a better solution will be found.

The government intends to lease the manor of Sangaste and announced a contest to find a leaseholder. The Interior Ministry and other departments were charged with monitoring the preparations for the local elections in Paldiski. A special commission including residents of the town is being formed. If the register of residents will not be taken over from the Russian military, all persons entered in the lists are to be checked individually, Laar announced. He added that the police raids to start today are not connected with the papal visit but will become a "permanent policy of the government." The checking of IDs will be conducted "in a civilised manner," Laar promised.

Election Commission Appoints Replacement Riigikogu Members

WS2708140693 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0741 GMT 27 Aug 93

[From 27 August RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, p 1,3]

[Text] Friday, August 27—Yesterday's session of the National Election Commission appointed Endel Eero of the "Safe Home" electoral union and Arvo Haug of the "Popular Front" electoral union replacement members of the Riigikogu. Eero is to replace Edgar Spriit who died on August 8 while Haug is to replace Juri Ratsep, who was appointed member of the State Court.

The commission approved the regulation on setting up candidates, filling in the list of candidates and the use of the election commission stamp.

The commission relieved Chairman Erik-Juhan Truuvali of his post according to his letter of resignation. Truuvali motivated his resignation with his work as the Justice Chancellor. He recommended Deputy Chairman of the Kohtla-Jarve town council Avo Blankin to replace him as the chairman of the commission. Blankin was elected unanimously.

New Defense Minister Luik Profiled

PM2708115393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 93 p 3

[Sergey Knyazkov report under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "New Appointment for Juri Luik. Estonian Defense Minister Combines Two Posts"]

[Text] On 7 August KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported that Estonian Defense Minister Hain Rebas had resigned as a result of the "Pullapae crisis" (this refers to Pullapae, the base of the separate light infantry detail which withdrew from the republic's defense forces). The National Independence Party [ERSP] was to appoint a new minister; this post belongs to it under the coalition agreement. However, the two nominees (one of them being a priest) proposed for discussion divided the members of the ERSP into hardline camps. Another row blew up, and then, in order not to whip up passions, the ERSP proposed that the "Isamaa" Party should put forward their candidate. Thus, 27-year old Juri Luik became minister of defense.

As Andrey Yakushev, press attache at the Russian Embassy in Tallinn, told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Luik was born in Tallinn in 1966. He graduated from the philological faculty at Tartu State University, and worked on the VIKKERKAR (RADUGA) periodical. He became head of the Estonian Foreign Ministry Political Department in 1991. In 1992 he ran as a deputy from the "Isamaa" Party at the State Assembly. On 1 December he was appointed minister without portfolio—head of the Estonian delegation at interstate talks with Russia.

The latter fact, coupled with the new appointment, creates a fairly sensational situation. As the influential POSTIMEES newspaper believes, the minister of defense or at least his deputy could also now head the Russian delegation at talks with Estonia. That is what the Estonian side should demand if it wants to hold a dialogue on equal terms with Russia, POSTIMEES stresses.

It must be noted at this point that the previous Estonian minister of defense had only one short 15-minute conversation with Army General Pavel Grachev. Having become acquainted, the sides only confirmed their positions, which are similar to the ones enshrined at the interstate talks. So is it worth the Estonian side now insisting on the Russian delegation head being changed?

Ruling Party Becomes Member of European Democratic Union

LD0209104593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] The National Fatherland Party was admitted as a full member of the European Democratic Union [EDU] this morning. An agreement on was signed at the EDU's conference which is in progress in Budapest, by Mart Laar, chairman of the National Fatherland Party and prime minister. He also made a speech. According to Karin Jaani, the party's foreign policy spokesman, this means that Estonia's ruling party is now recognized by leading European countries.

The top rightwing politicians of Europe have assembled in Budapest and Prime Minister Mart Laar will have meetings today with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

'Independents' Faction Forms Outside Government, Opposition

WS0109144493 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0949 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From 1 September HOMMIKULEHT, p 3]

[Text] Wednesday, September 1—A new faction, the "Independents", is to be formed in the Riigikogu, former advisor of the National Independence Party (ERSP) faction Robert Vill said. The new faction will be outside both the government coalition and the opposition and may include up to ten members. At least 5 ERSP members, including Avo Kiir, Ants Erm and Jaanus Raidal are expected to leave. Enn Tarto ("Fatherland") and Paul-Olev Mtskula ("Estonian Citizen") are also expected to join the new faction. Avo Kiir, the former ERSP candidate for defence minister, added that the leaders of the former "Estonian Citizen" faction Juri Toomepuu and Katrin Linde may also join the faction. Members of the new faction will vote according to their personal choice, Kiir stressed.

He said that he intends to stay in the government coalition despite his leaving the ERSP. Kiir explained his decision with the "tactics and style" of the ERSP and the ignoring of the party decisions by the Riigikogu faction. He quoted the case of the defence minister's post as an example. "The problem was not my getting the post. I would have resigned if the ERSP had retained the minister's portfolio," Kiir said.

Enn Tarto denied having been invited to join the faction and added that he would have to consult with the Conservative faction of the "Fatherland" party. Tarto admitted that the conflict within the "Fatherland" resembled the situation of the ERSP, but stressed that Mart Laar had

managed to reduce the differences. "We are attempting to handle the matter more peacefully," he said.

Latvia

Last Russian Naval Vessel Leaves Bolderaja Base

LD2708200493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 93

[Text] The last Russian naval vessel left the Bolderaja naval base today with a load of munitions. More than 500 members of the naval staff remain at the base near Riga.

Russian Naval Housing Area Falls Under Local Jurisdiction

WS0209104893 Riga LETA in English 1301 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Liepaja, September 1 (LETA)—The municipality of Latvia [as received] took under its jurisdiction all the housing resources of the so-called cantonment. Until now all the dwelling houses have been under the authority of the Russian Navy fleet base commandment. At the same time the basic engineering communications, electrical and terminal facilities in particular, housing resources and other installations and buildings of the cantonment are in a badly neglected technical condition. Their operation will involve big finance.

Official Complains of Russian View on Human Rights

LD3108224093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Statement by Sandra Kalniete, leader of the Latvian Mission to the United Nations organization in Geneva, at a news conference in the Latvian Foreign Ministry on 31 August—recorded]

[Text] Lately, Russia is trying to implement a campaign against Latvia and Estonia in the sphere of human rights with a new intonation. First, there is no longer any talk of citizenship issues as extensively as there was before, but in view of the fact that there are rich opportunities for interpretation, after all, in international rights in this field, they are directing their attention to the problem of statelessness, the problem of apartheid, the problem of [word indistinct] workers, as well as the problem of refugees. These last [word indistinct] and of refugees obviously, will be that it will be extensively developed during the next General Assembly, as well as later, very likely, in the coming UN year. [sentence as heard]

Speaking of the High Commissioner for Refugees—this whole institution—Russia has repeatedly, in several speeches, propounded the thesis that this commissioner must extend his mandate. His rights must be assigned a preventive nature, which means that the commissioner will have the right to investigate a situation if he believes that somewhere circumstances are potentially leading to a flood of refugees. In the Baltic region this is a question that is quite dangerous because Russia in all institutions, not just the United Nations, tries to speak of economically oppressed refugees, of politically oppressed refugees, or of ethnic cleansing.

Previously there was not such a pronounced connection between this and how the talks between Latvian and Russian delegations on the withdrawal of troops from Latvia were proceeding. At present it is much more palpably noticeable, because Russia has intensified its attack at the moment when the talks have ended in a certain deadlock yet again.

Five East German Warships Handed Over to Naval Forces

LD3108101993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Today on the territory of a shipyard at Bolderaja, German Ambassador Graf Lambsdorff handed over to the Latvian naval forces five warships which formerly belonged to East Germany. They were brought to Latvia at the beginning of the summer. Armament was removed from the missile ships before their transportation to Latvia because Germany does not want to give arms to Latvia.

The Latvian naval forces will use the donated ships mainly for coast guarding.

Foreign Minister Returns From Talks in Sweden

LD0109211393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Defense and security issues in the Baltic region were at the center of attention at the recent discussions by the foreign ministers of Nordic and Baltic countries, as well as problems associated with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Baltic territories, Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs said at a news conference at Riga airport. He, with State Minister Gunars Meierovics, took part in the annual session of the Nordic Council of Ministers, which took place in the Swedish town of Visby, and to which the foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were invited this year for the first time. The discussion also covered problems of cooperation and economic relations.

Replying to the question whether he can confirm the report that Russia will withdraw its troops from the two other Baltic countries in October, Andrejevs said that he had no such information. Moreover, he added that withdrawing a contingent of 16,000 men with all its technical equipment in such a short time is simply not possible.

At the same time, regarding Latvia, Andrejevs noted that it must be said that the U.S. Congress has actually issued a statement that if Russia signs an agreement by 16 September with Latvia and Estonia and agrees on a timetable for the withdrawal of its troops, then Congress will not object to granting economic assistance to Russia.

In the first case, this is in Russia's own interests, the minister emphasized. Therefore, Latvia can hope for positive results for the next stage in the talks between Latvia and Russia, planned for the middle of September.

President Ulmanis Supports State TV, Radio

LD3008195993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Announcer] Ulmanis made known to journalists his opinion on state radio and television.

[Begin Ulmanis recording] In my opinion there should be at least one state television program and one state radio program. Let 100 or 500 competing private companies evolve and let them broadcast and, if they can, let them supersede the state channel, so that the state channel would become very unpopular, and all the others would be extremely popular and let it be so, or it will be the other way round. However, if by any chance state television or radio is abolished, or if there is an attempt to do so, I will in any case say my word. Well, if nobody pays any attention to me, then that will be the other case, and it will lie on their conscience and people will then judge what is right and what is wrong. [end recording]

Christian Democrats Oust Leader for 'Neglecting' Duties

WS0209102693 Tallinn BNS in English 1934 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Riga, Sept 01, BNS—The Latvian Christian Democrats faction decided Wednesday [1 September] to expel their leader Andris Saulitis for neglecting the faction's work.

The move follows Saulitis' ouster Tuesday from the post of chairman of the Christian Democrats Union (LKDS). The Union said, "his conduct and deeds have brought moral and financial losses."

LKDS Vice Chairman Juris Kalnins asserted that Saulitis incurred debts to the party.

Saulitis himself submitted his resignation from the LKDS Board Aug. 31. He cited his "inability to perform political actions."

Saulitis aide Juris Budrihs says his boss is not involved with any financial conflicts. On the contrary, Budrihs noted, Saulitis has donated 3,000 lats of his personal savings for the party's needs.

Lithuania

'Fundamental Disagreements' Emerge at Talks With Poland

WS0209101893 Tallinn BNS in English 1531 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 01, BNS—Lithuania and Poland coordinated all but two articles in a 26-article friendship treaty during their third round of talks in Warsaw Aug. 31. The remaining two clauses concern national minority problems.

Lithuanian and Polish negotiators did not discuss a declaration on the historic interpretation of relations between the two countries. The declaration will be considered after the main agreement is ready.

Some fundamental disagreements emerged during the talks, Vladislovas Domarkas, the leader of the Lithuanian delegation, told Lithuanian TV. Lithuania wants to sign the agreement and the declaration simultaneously; Poland does not want to link the two documents.

Domarkas said the meeting in Poland's capital was intense, but not very productive.

The next round of Lithuanian-Polish talks meets in Vilnius.

Government Meeting With Farmers Fails To Resolve Dispute

WS0209072693 Tallinn BNS in English 1010 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 01, BNS—Negotiators achieved little appreciable results in a meeting devoted to the problems of settlements and price-fixing in Lithuania's agriculture.

The meeting, held by the government Tuesday [31 August], was attended by President Algirdas Brazauskas, Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, government members, the chairman of the Bank of Lithuania, Romualdas Visokavicius, and representatives of striking farmers.

Strike leaders said they did not hear the answer the country's farmers expected. The farmers stopped their milk supplies to dairy companies earlier this week.

Slezevicius said a kilogram of butter would cost around two dollars, more than a world market price, if producers are paid 0.32 lits per liter of milk.

President Brazauskas urged producers, dairy companies and financiers to stop their confrontation and start to work.

A number of the meeting's participants said nothing new was said at the gathering. A meeting of experts should have been called instead to work out specific ways of improving settlements, they said.

As reported, farmers warned they would struggle to the very end and threatened to use the pope's visit to Lithuania to achieve their aims.

Compromise Reached; Farmers End Strike

WS0209101993 Tallinn BNS in English 1531 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 01, BNS—A strike of farmers in western Lithuania ended Wednesday [1 September] after they achieved a compromise with the Zemaitijos pienas dairy company.

A dispute over milk prices was settled at negotiations between the strike-committee and the company. Zemaitijos pienas agreed to pay 0.30 lits per liter of milk.

Milk producers earlier demanded an increase of between 0.18 to 0.32 lits per liter.

The strike ended Wednesday noon. The farmers cleared their equipment from the company's gate.

Farmers of the Telsiai region were the organizers of an intended general strike, but milk producers in other regions only expressed support to the strike.

European Community Grants 50 Million ECU Loan

WS0109105293 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1151 GMT 31 Aug 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 320a]

[Text] Vilnius, 31 Aug (ELTA)—European Community granted a 50 million ECU [European Currency Unit] loan to Lithuania's government to be distributed in the following way: 30.7 million for storing Lithuania's and its cities' and regions' fuel supplies, 9.3 million for covering gas debts of state run enterprises "Siluma" and Energetine Sistema", 5.3 million for financing investment projects for development of priority branches in Lithuania's economy, 2.5 million for financing long term investment projects for development of private businesses, and 1.8 million ECU for purchasing diesel fuel. The sums to be allocated for covering Lithuania's gas debts, for payments for diesel fuel and for storing Lithuania's fuel supplies shall be distributed via state run enterprise "Siluma" 4.8 million ECU, via enterprise "Energy System" 26.2 million ECU, via Lithuania's fuel 8 million ECU, via state run enterprise "Lithuania's railways" 1.8 million ECU.

Central Bank Chairman Denies Charges of Protectionism

WS0209084793 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 17 Aug 93 No. 157 p 1

[Interview with Bank of Lithuania Chairman Romualdas Visokavicius by Vida Danileviciute; place and date not given: "'I Do Not See Anything Bad'"]

[Text] [Danileviciute] What can you say about the extension of the 20 million-litas credit to farmers through the "Litimpex" bank [formerly headed by Visokavicius]?

[Visokavicius] This was the decision of the prime minister and the government. If I had felt that this would cause a scandal, I would have asked the prime minister to refrain from making this decision, as otherwise I would be in trouble. We would have talked, I would have persuaded the prime minister, and my voice would have been decisive. However, this was the government's choice. It has hard currency and an ordinary account at the "Litimpex" bank, and it knows its people. After the events of January, this bank conducted several very important state operations. I am familiar with all of Lithuania's best bankers and I know who can be trusted. If one were to ask my opinion, I wouldn't mention all 24 banks.

[Danileviciute] What do you think about the differing dates on the transfer document and the agreement?

[Visokavicius] I do not see anything bad there. I do not know what is going on behind the doors of the Finance Ministry. I do not follow every person. Should I control each and every ordinary bank transaction? I do not lock my office when I go home at night—anyone could go in and do what he likes. My business was to allot money as soon as possible. The prime minister accelerated our work. We held a credit auction and the Bank of Agriculture received 40 million litas. We could also have given these 20 million litas to it, but we allotted them to the government. A. Slezevicius wanted to have these 20 million litas as "first aid." Later I saw a document transferring them to the "Litimpex" bank.

[Danileviciute] K. Jaskelevicius, chairman of the Seimas Budget and Finance Committee, assessed this as a classic example of protectionism. How would you respond to that?

[Visokavicius] The chairman began to insult me publicly and repeated this statement irresponsibly. I categorically reject his charges. The chairman of the Seimas committee spread "false rumors"—I would not have done so if I were in his place. I suppose that he will reflect on his actions. I am not vindictive. I would remark that he made a greater, very big mistake when basing the indexation of the inhabitants' savings on the budget rather than the assets. I believed in his professionalism. He had persuaded the Lithuanian Bank Board and Government of this.

[Danileviciute] What about the ruining of the Bank of Agriculture through dishonest competition?

[Visokavicius] The Bank of Agriculture and the State Commercial Bank control 90 percent of the credit reserves. The remaining 24 commercial banks have only 10 percent. Did these dwarfs scare the bulls?

[Danileviciute] A. Rudys says, however, that these big "bulls" are in danger of being parceled out to the baskets of commercial "dwarfs."

[Visokavicius] They must be immediately transformed—the Bank of Agriculture will collapse, as did collective farms. It is indebted.... I suggest that Lithuania have between five and seven normal strong banks. The opinion of the Central Bank is firm. Today the prime minister and I already signed a document on the privatization of the Savings Bank.

[Danileviciute] Our editorial office has some information that the president's office is talking about candidates for the post of Lithuanian Bank chairman. Have you considered a resignation? Where would you go?

[Visokavicius] I have not heard anything about any candidates. I stabilized the talonas, introduced the litas, and was recognized by the IMF—this is something. If they want to remove me, I would not offer much resistance. I could set up another five banks or some other financial institution. There are many who would like to have me as a consultant. I do not think that I would return to the "Litimpex" bank—I would feel uneasy after what is happening there now. I am still young and always in a hurry. I would like to create something that would be one the icing on the cake.